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ABSTRACT

This collection of papers focuses on applied linguistics and second language teaching. Three of the papers discuss classroom issues, two examine new views and models in second language writing, and one describes the Koge project, which has presented the most comprehensive research on bilingual children in Denmark. The six papers include the following: (1) "Learning (and Teaching) as Well as You Know How: Why is it So Very Difficult?" (Dick Allwright); "Bridging the Gap between Real Life and the Language Classroom: Principles, Practices, and Outcomes" (Leni Dam); "Linguistic Outcomes of a Learner-Centered and Meaning-Focused Classroom" (Lienhard Legenhausen); "An Overview of the Second Language Writing Classroom" (Barbara Kroll); "A New Model of the Writing Process" (John R. Hayes); and "Tosproget Udvikling og Dansk som Andetsprog. Nogle Result at er fra Koge-Projektet" (Bilingual Development and Danish as a Second Language: Results from the Koge Project);(Anne Holmen and Normann Jorgensen). (Papers contain references.) (SM)

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Pædagogik og læring i fremmed- og andetsprog

Johannes Wagner (ed.)

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Johannes Wagner (ed.)

Pædagogik og læring i fremmed- og andetsprog

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Indhold

Forord

Dick Allwright: Learning (and teaching) as well as you know how: why is it so very difficult? 1

Leni Dam: Bridging the gap between real life and the language classroom - principles, practices and outcomes 43

Lienhard Legenhausen: Linguistic outcomes of a learner-centred and meaning-focused classroom 65

Barbara Kroll: An overview of the second language writing classroom 87

John R. Hayes: a new model of the writing process 95

Anne Holmen & Normann Jørgensen: Tosproget udvikling og dansk som andetsprog. Nogle resultater fra Køge-projektet 107

Forord

Den 22.5. 1998 arrangerede Pia List og Johannes Wagner en temadag om kommunikation i klasseværelset. Arrangementet blev til i samarbejde med Karl-Heinz Pogner fra den daværende Handelshøjskole Syd i Sønderborg. Fire foredrag fornøjede de omkring 100 tilmeldte deltagere. Foredragsholderne var Dick Allwright fra Lancaster University, Petra Burmeister fra Universität Kiel, Leni Dam fra Lærerhøjskolen i København og Lienhart Legenhausen fra Universität Münster. Tre af disse fordrag er nu endeligt tilgængelige i dette nummer af *Working Papers.*

De tre foredrag behandler autonomi og eleverfaringer i klasserummet. Dick Allright spørger, hvorfor eleverne i skolen ikke bruger deres fulde 'kapacitet' til at lære, og derfor ikke lærer så godt, så hurtigt og så meget som de egentlig kunne. Han peger på en række sociale og institutionelle faktorer og diskuterer hvordan eleverne, men også lærerne, bremses i at skabe og opleve læring som så spændende, udfordrende og tilfredsstillende som den kunne være.

Leni Dam giver én mulig løsning på problemet. Hun beskriver sin egen autonome klasse og dens pædagogiske og sociale praksis. Hendes artikel suppleres af Lienhart Legenhausen som har sammenlignet elever i autonom og traditionel undervisning. Hans resultat er entydigt: Eleverne fra den autnome klasse kan i mange henseender klare sig bedre end eleverne fra traditonelle klasser.

De tre artikler suppleres af et manuskript fra temadagen i 1999, som have Tosprogethed som emne. Temadagen fand sted den 14.5.1999 og var arrangeret af Lone Laursen og Johannes Wagner. Foredragsholderne var Anne

Holmen (DPU), Karen Margrethe Pedersen (Institut for Grænseregionsforskning, Åbenrå), Jakob Ladefoged (nu SDU), Lone Laursen (SDU), Suzanne Romaine (University of Oxford) og Jens Normann Jørgensen (KUA).

Anne Holmens og Jens Normann Jørgensens fælles oplæg er trykt i nærværende hæfte. Bidraget beskriver det nu ti-årige Køge-projekt som har præsteret den mest omfattende og solide forskning om tosprogede børn i Danmark. Køge-projektets medarbejdere har fulgt 10 tyrkisk-danske skolelevers sproglige udvikling igennem folkeskolen. Projektet råder over et rigt materiale til at demonstrere udfordringer for, men også potentialet hos tosprogede elever.

Karl-Heinz Pogner (nu Handelshøjskolen i København) har været så venlig at formidle to artikler om status quo i fremmedsproglig skriveforskning. Barbara Kroll og Richard Hayes, to veletablerede amerikanske skriveforskere, giver hver deres korte bidrag hvor de præsenterer aktuelle synspunkter og aktuelle modeller om fremmedsproglig skrivning.

OWPLC 22: 1-41

LEARNING (AND TEACHING) AS WELL AS YOU KNOW HOW: WHY IS IT SO VERY DIFFICULT?

Dick Allwright, Lancaster

1. Introduction to a recruiting campaign

My title poses a question, a question that I know I am unable to answer satisfactorily: "Why is it so very difficult for learners, and for their teachers, to behave as intelligently as they know how in the language classroom?". It is precisely because I cannot answer it to my own satisfaction myself that I want to focus on it here, in the hope that other people will find this account of my own preliminary explorations of it interesting enough for them to want to join in the search for some more satisfactory level of understanding. Although I will from time to time draw on research reports, this is not itself a research report, therefore. Instead, it is rather an extended recruitment advertisement. To that end I will firstly present at some length my own partly conceptual and partly empirical explorations of the question, to analyse it as thoroughly as I can at this stage. Then I will discuss some of the pedagogical thoughts that these initial explorations bring to mind - the pedagogic ideas that might be seen as possible solutions to the practical problems involved. This will lead to a discussion of 'Exploratory Practice' - my own suggestion for an approach to language pedagogy that integrates a research perspective directly into classroom work, and that promises in so doing to offer learners themselves, as well as their teachers, a way of developing their own understandings of what happens in language classrooms. Returning to a more academic perspective on research I will then review the major issues that any research project will need to address. I hope this will provide a productive set of ideas for anyone else who finds themselves seriously interested in the overall topic. Above all, then, I hope my paper will function as a move in a recruiting campaign, aimed at encourage others to join me in the search for understanding in an area of potentially universal interest and of very considerable practical importance.

Throughout the bulk of the paper I will focus on learners' experiences of classroom life. I will consider the possible parallels with teachers' experiences in a relatively brief section towards the end.

2. But what is it all about? One central phenomenon, two distinct forms

2.1 Some background

Underlying the question to which this paper is addressed is the assumption that not only is classroom language learning difficult in itself, but also that somehow the people involved find in it themselves having difficulty doing it as well as they think they should be able to. Something, or someone, seems to get in their way. Two quotes from Cherchalli's 1988 data are directly relevant here. Firstly we have a general observation, from an Algerian senior secondary school student who blames teachers, in the most uncompromising fashion, for getting in the way:

> *Ah! A teacher is a teacher...they're made to make trouble for us!*
> *(From Cherchalli, 1988: 301)*

We cannot know precisely what this student had in mind with this blanket condemnation, but it is at least worth noting that he or she has hit upon what may be a key feature of classroom learning and teaching - that it is precisely the teacher's job to make sure that learning material is encountered in class, so that there will be something there for the learners to learn from. And this material must contain elements that are unfamiliar (or there really will be nothing there for the learners to learn from). And these necessarily unfamiliar elements may therefore may pose a problem of understanding. In this respect, at least, it is quite importantly true, I believe, to say that a teacher is 'made to make trouble' for learners. This is an area I first explored in previous papers (1989a and b), nearly ten years ago, where I drew attention to what I presented as an inevitable dilemma for teachers in their management of classroom discourse. I saw teachers as being under pressure, on the one hand, to make sure that the discourse was smooth and unproblematic for the sake of the social side of classroom life, while on the other hand, for strictly pedagogic purposes, they seemed to feel equally compelled to risk discoursal trouble by introducing new learning material into their lessons.

My second quotation from Cherchalli's Algerian data widens the target, to blame classmates for at least one sort of debilitating problem:

> *I'll never forget today and the shame I felt. Everything started when the teacher asked me to read a few sentences on the blackboard. In one of them there was the word 'knives' and when reading it I mispronounced the 'k'. I knew I shouldn't have pronounced it but I did it inadvertently. At that moment I saw all my classmates laughing surreptitiously. They thought I hadn't seen them but I had and I shall never forget it. (From Cherchalli, 1988: 318)*

It's not difficult to imagine the debilitating effect of such public humiliation. It's even probable that most people reading this will recognise it as something that is directly familiar from their own classroom language learning experiences - the *fear* of such humiliation, if not of the humiliation itself. For many years I have collected reports about their language learning histories from first year undergraduate students at Lancaster

University and the almost universal feature of their reports is humiliation, mostly at the hands of teachers, but sometimes at the hands of their classmates. Of course there may be very little that is specific to language learning in all this. Perhaps all classroom learning is risky from the point of view of the ever-present likelihood of public humiliation. But the language classroom may well be worse than the others, if only because in other subjects you can usually be wrong mainly in only one way (by misunderstanding the subject matter), whereas in language learning you can be wrong in infinitely many ways at once. Even if your answer is substantially correct you can still be guilty of pronunciation errors, as the example above shows. Stevick put it well many years ago now:

> If (the student) expects that linguistic errors will bring unpleasant consequences, he (sic) will be cautious with the form of his sentences: instead of experimenting with them, and instead of using them for the purpose of saying something, he will pick his way through them as if they were a minefield. If he feels uncertain about his place in the group, he will be careful to reveal nothing about his activities and his preferences that might lead to rejection by teacher or classmates. (.....) he may either rebel or withdraw. (1980:200-201)

2.2 One central phenomenon

So other people make life difficult in the language classroom, and may demoralise you sufficiently to affect your performance. That clearly is a practical problem for everyone affected by it. It is also therefore a problem we would presumably wish to eliminate, or at least to minimise. But before we can hope to make intelligent suggestions as to how such a problem may best be tackled as a practical issue, we need to do our best to understand it as thoroughly as possible. But how can we understand such a thing?

From reflection upon experience over several decades of studying classroom transcripts, and in many other ways studying what happens in language classrooms, I propose as a preliminary analysis that one major phenomenon is central. It is also worth hypothesising, at least, and precisely so as to prompt more research on the issue, that from all the currently available (albeit mostly informal) evidence this phenomenon seems to be culturally universal. Certainly it seems so widespread among the people I have talked to about it from around the world that its occurrence seems to be taken for granted - as an inescapable, if regrettable, fact of classroom life. The central phenomenon I have in mind is the ***under-representation of self***. There may be many other phenomena that are relevant and worthy of further investigation, but this is the one that seems to me to be the best candidate currently for further study, because it does appear to be central and because in any case it does seem to have been woefully neglected in our literature.

2.3 Two distinct forms

My thinking so far also suggests that this phenomenon of the under-representation of self takes two major forms in common experience - ***firstly***, the under-representation, by learners, of their current *language* ability (and/or knowledge, it may be helpful to add here, without delaying matters to explain further); and, ***secondly***, the under-representation, by learners again, of their current language *learning* ability/knowledge. That is to say, I believe that central to the discussion of why learners find it so very difficult to learn as well as they know how is the fact that for so much of the time, for so many people, it seems appropriate not to let others know just how good you are at the language, nor how good you are at learning it. Both these points need further elaboration.

2.3.1 Under-representing your current language ability/ knowledge

'Hard' research evidence may be difficult to find on this phenomenon, but telling anecdotal evidence is not at all hard to find. Take, for example, the experience of my daughter on her first day at Secondary School. Like some of the other children in her new class, she had done some French in Primary School. In her very first French lesson, her new French teacher gave the class an opportunity to show off what French they already knew, by asking them if they could tell her the names of the days of the week in French. My daughter, along with a good many other children, put her hand up to volunteer, but she very soon put her hand down again, she told us later, because everybody was getting the days of the week wrong in French, *and she knew she couldn't trust herself to get them wrong.* On her very first day at secondary school, in a new school in a new town, with almost no other children she knew already, she had already worked out that she needed friends more than she needed the approval of any teacher, and she couldn't expect people to want to be friends with her if she was the only person who got things right! So she deliberately under-represented her knowledge of the language (or at least her perception of her knowledge of the language).

That was very many years ago, and whenever I have told the story I have found people echoing it with stories from their own experiences. Usually the individual stories are not very dramatic in themselves, but over the years they have, for me, added up to a picture in which systematic under-representation seems to be the norm for most people, most of the time, so much the norm in fact that, as I noted above, they have come to take it for granted. Only rarely do I come across cases where people have felt free to perform at the best of their ability most of the time, without any reason to fear the probable consequences. The overall picture, then, is rather depressing, and is perhaps behind many teachers' feelings that their learners could do a lot better at language learning than they ever seem to allow themselves to (though this may be a view that is special to the situation of such places as England, where there seems to be a perverse pride to be had in not being able to speak other people's languages).

2.3.2 Under-representing your current language learning ability/knowledge

This is a closely-related, but conceptually very different phenomenon. Learners, I believe, do not only under-perform their language competence. They also under-perform their ***learning*** competence. That is to say, they present themselves to their classmates, and to their teachers, as less intelligent, less skilful, learners than they actually are. They may not do this quite as deliberately as they under-perform their linguistic competence, but they do it nonetheless. One further example from Cherchalli's data is particularly helpful here, I believe, precisely because it is so undramatic, so banal:

> *Sometimes I feel like asking the teacher a question, but just realizing that perhaps the rest of the class understand, I hesitate. (From Cherchalli, 1988:185)*

Here of course the hesitation, and the reason for it, are clearly fully conscious in the learner's mind, but does the learner know that such hesitation is likely to leave teachers thinking that learners are not sensible enough to ask questions when they are appropriate - that they do not even have the learning strategy of asking questions to check their understanding (see also Allwright, 1997a, and Section 5.4 below)? If such hesitation is common, then it could lead to teachers having, quite legitimately, an inappropriately negative image of their learners' *learning* ability, just as, above, we saw that they might legitimately get an inappropriately negative image of their *language* ability. My impression, of course, is precisely that this sort of hesitation to demonstrate good learning behaviour is extremely widespread, and not only with regard to asking questions. But we do need research directed at identifying the different practical forms taken by the two notions I have just introduced as my central phenomena. And we do need, of course, to establish what relationship there might be, if any, to learning outcomes.

3. How does it work? Two mechanisms: one direct, one indirect

3.1 Two mechanisms: one direct, one indirect

Having proposed a central phenomenon and its two major forms we now need to see if there is any way we can imagine that either of the two forms could operate in practice. Can we already propose plausible mechanisms by which they might have an effect? There are two obvious possibilities here. The two forms of the phenomenon could in principle be ***directly*** damaging to your learning progress by directly inhibiting the learning itself, or they could be ***indirectly*** damaging by leading you to get less appropriate treatment from a teacher (and perhaps also from fellow-learners), simply because you have given a false (and falsely unfavourable) image either of your current language knowledge, or of your current language learning ability, or of both. For example, if you feel constrained to pronounce words much less well than you privately believe yourself capable of pronouncing them, then not only will the teacher form the impression (reasonably enough) that you are unable to do significantly better, and thus perhaps set his or her expectations that much lower for you in future, but also the teacher will in the meantime, and again quite reasonably, give you feedback that is inappropriate to your real pronunciation needs.

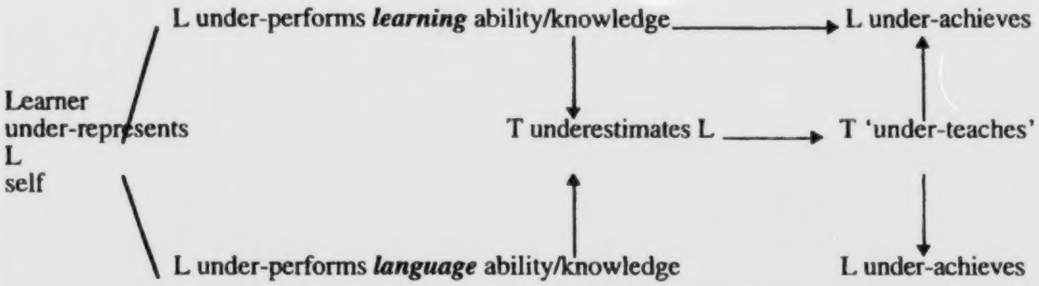
3.2 The relationship between mechanisms and forms

The *first* form of the phenomenon - under-representing your current language ability/knowledge - should *not* (at least at first sight) be ***directly*** damaging to your progress, but it could clearly be expected to be ***indirectly*** damaging in the way suggested above. How is a teacher to teach you in the best possible way, if you do not let him or her know just how well you are capable of performing?

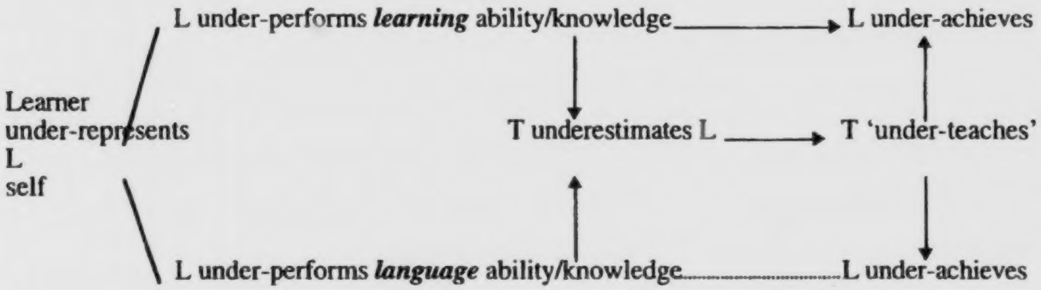
The *second* form of the phenomenon presented above - under-representing your current language learning ability/ knowledge - could easily be **directly** damaging to learners' progress. Presumably if you do not, for whatever reason, exhibit your best behaviour as a good language learner, even though you know what you should in principle do to learn well, then you should, logically, learn less well than you would otherwise, or at the very least you should need to expend more effort to achieve the same results. To make matters worse, if your teacher has developed an unfavourable view of your learning ability, precisely because you have under-represented it to him or her, then, as in the first case above, it seems reasonable to expect your teacher to treat you less appropriately than would otherwise be the case. Such a situation, then, could be expected to be **indirectly** damaging to your learning outcomes.

3.3 Modelling the relationships

The whole situation is summarised in the following diagram:


L under-performs *learning* ability/knowledge
L under-achieves
Learner under-represents L self
T underestimates L
T 'under-teaches'
L under-performs *language* ability/knowledge
L under-achieves

But the bottom line of the diagram, by so very obviously drawing attention to the implied lack of a direct relationship between under-performing and under-achieving prompts a re-think of that issue. Under-performing means doing things less well than you could, and that presumably means getting less practice of the sort that would help you push your learning forward. We could use Prabhu's notion of learning through deployment (Prabhu, 1987), and Swain's (1985) notion of comprehensible output here. A dotted line on the diagram will have to suffice, for the moment, to indicate this sort of direct effect relationship.


L under-performs *learning* ability/knowledge
L under-achieves
Learner under-represents L self
T underestimates L
T 'under-teaches'
L under-performs *language* ability/knowledge
L under-achieves

If you almost always perform well within your current ability/knowledge level (or even significantly below it, in severe cases of under-performance) then you will not be consolidating, internalising, making automatic, any new learning material you may have encountered. You are likely, therefore, to make progress less quickly, and to have performance difficulties in real-life encounters that require the use of the target language. Anecdotal evidence suggests, however, that you may still be able to perform well enough for practical purposes in school examination systems, and so the problem may never surface, at least within the original institutional setting.

3.4 The notion of 'under-teaching'

Another issue raised by the process of devising the diagram relates to the novel notion of 'under-teaching'. The diagram necessitated a short-hand expression and 'under-teaching' fitted the bill as a parallel linguistic form to others already in place, but its very simplicity suggests that many complications may be lurking ready to trap the unwary. For example, here the term is intended only to refer to teaching that is correctly adjusted for the level of the evidence that the teacher is receiving from the learner, but where that evidence is itself misleadingly low. It is necessarily, for the purposes of the present discussion, a negative notion, though only in terms of the possible learning outcomes for the learner - it does not imply any blame on the part of the teacher. It is not difficult to imagine, however, that in some circumstances learners might be positively helped by a little 'spoon-feeding', if only occasionally. My niece, many years ago, when she was twelve or thirteen years old, reported that her French teacher's explanations were only useful, to her personally, when they were addressed to the bottom third of the class (in language achievement terms), and so were put in the most simplified form the teacher could devise. Any explanation addressed to the top achievers, she said, would be totally incomprehensible to her, apparently because the teacher would use it as an occasion to show off his or her own technical mastery of abstract linguistic terminology. And yet she was in the top third for achievement herself. So, what constitutes unhelpful 'under-teaching' for some, perhaps for those to whom it is specifically addressed, may be helpful for others who are not currently being addressed. We are in the realm of what Prabhu (1987) calls the major issue for teachers of 'regulating the challenge', and where we need to differentiate between the effects for addressees and non-addressees ('onlookers'). Such discussion also recalls Cherchalli's fascinating thoughts (1988) about the possibly huge relevance of relative achievement to any learner's experience of classroom life. Also to consider is the whole history of research on 'matching' in education - of trying to get the teaching 'right' for each learner.

3.5 The story so far

So there is reason to believe that the two forms of the phenomenon I have identified as central could in principle have a damaging effect on learning outcomes, either directly or indirectly, because we can make at least plausible suggestions as to the mechanisms that might be involved. But it is of course not at all obvious how one would set about establishing reliable causal relationships in this area. That is a question I shall need to return to later. Meanwhile, we need to pull together what thoughts there are already on *why* people might under-represent their 'true' learning selves to their teachers and to their classmates. This is the topic of the next main subsection.

4. What *sense* can we make of it all? One major cause

4.1 Under-representing your current language ability/knowledge

My daughter explained her decision to pretend not to know the names of the days of the week in French in terms of her not wishing to appear different. Appearing different would, she felt, reduce her chances of making friends on her very first day at Secondary School. But it was not merely appearing different, in itself, in some general sense, that was at the root of the social problem for her. What worried her in particular were the cumulating risks of appearing different by appearing more keen to learn than others, possibly more keen to please the teacher, possibly more clever than others anyway, possibly wanting to be seen to be more clever than others, and possibly therefore snobbish about being more clever as well, and so on. In the English school system in the late 1970s (but probably not only there and not only then) such risks were of considerable social - and I would now argue, educational - importance.

Under-representing your current language ability/knowledge is perhaps understandable, then, as a strategy for avoiding the potential negative social consequences of properly representing yourself in terms of your current language ability or knowledge. And just from the one example discussed above, we see the possibility of a conflict between how you might want to represent yourself to your classmates and how you might want to represent yourself to your teacher - a conflict resolved in this instance in favour of classmates.

4.2 Under-representing your current language learning ability/knowledge

If we return to the example first given for this phenomenon we can see how the underlying problem is an essentially social one again.

> *Sometimes I feel like asking the teacher a question, but just realizing that perhaps the rest of the class understand, I hesitate. (From Cherchalli, 1988:185)*

The learner is not just thinking about him or herself, but about him or herself in relation to 'the rest of the class'. But it is left to us to imagine why the realisation that 'perhaps the rest of the class understand' could cause a learner to hesitate to ask a question. And of course it is not difficult to imagine, precisely because we have 'all been there ourselves', that such a learner might fear appearing foolish for asking a question to which everyone else already knows the answer, might fear loss of self-esteem, therefore, possibly made worse by some show of public ridicule (if half-hidden), as in my second example above:

> *I'll never forget today and the shame I felt. Everything started when the teacher asked me to read a few sentences on the blackboard. In one of them there was the word 'knives' and when reading it I mispronounced the 'k'. I knew I shouldn't have pronounced it but I did it inadvertently. At that moment I saw all my classmates laughing surreptitiously. They thought I hadn't seen them but I had and I shall never forget it. (From Cherchalli, 1988: 318)*

But asking a question also risks disrupting the lesson, diverting the flow away from whatever the teacher is working on towards what you in particular want the teacher to attend to, just for your own very particular sake. This might be very helpful if there are other, even shyer, learners, who have the same question in mind. They might be eternally grateful to any learner who is brave enough to 'go public' with their questions. And even the teacher might be grateful for an opportunity to deal with problems before they become really serious. As another of Cherchalli's informants put it:

> *If one day a student happens to miss a word, another day he won't understand a whole sentence, and then it will be a whole paragraph. (From Cherchalli, 1988:275)*

Unfortunately, however, it seems teachers cannot be trusted to have infinite patience with learners' questions. The same learner continues:

> *OK, you can tell us that the students must ask the teacher for whatever explanation, but OK, once, twice, often and the teacher will get very fed up. (From Cherchalli, 1988:275)*

And another learner adds:

> *Sometimes I only understand a lesson after having exhausted the teacher and my classmates. (From Cherchalli, 1988: 185)*

So there is a risk of disapproval from the teacher as well as from classmates, for disruption and for time-wasting, to add to the general threat to your self-esteem that you can expect if you ask a question which everyone else, perhaps including the teacher, might think suggests both ignorance and stupidity - evidence perhaps both of poor prior learning and therefore of poor learning ability too.

To add to all these problems there is the probability that trouble might strike at any time, and not just when you are thinking of asking a question. It may strike even when the teacher is in full flood:

> *When the teacher is giving explanations my heart beats strongly and I keep saying to myself: 'It's going to be my turn now'. (From Cherchalli, 1988:156)*

It is easy to imagine the fear of public humiliation that might underlie such a comment.

4.3 One major cause: the fear of 'negative social consequences'

Generally, then, fearing negative social consequences (for your relationships with fellow learners and/or with teachers) is my candidate for the one major cause of the phenomenon of the under-representation of self in the language classroom (and elsewhere, of course, but space prohibits further development here). *So we have one major cause for a central phenomenon that takes two principal forms and for which two basic mechanisms can be suggested.*

This general, apparently all-pervading fear means that social pressures are a constant source of potential inhibition (for teachers as well as for learners, I should note in passing). Wanting to 'get along' socially seems destined to get in the way of 'getting on' academically. But this 'traditional' analysis is surely much too simplistic. Building on my own work on social and pedagogic pressures in the language classroom (1989a and b, and forthcoming); on the work of Breen (1985 and 1987), in particular; and on the general tradition in educational research (see especially Riesman et al, 1950; Karp and Yoels, 1976); I have elsewhere (1997b) proposed a far more complex analysis than the simple either/or one of 'getting along' versus 'getting on'. I suggest, for example, that both 'getting along' and 'getting on' need to be seen as dimensions in their own right, allowing for the possibility, for example, that some people may not want to 'get along' particularly, and may even wish to disrupt the social cohesion of a class, but that does not necessarily, or even probably, mean that they will want to 'get on'. In fact such a person is quite likely to be generally destructive, both socially and pedagogically. Such issues do not need to be discussed further here, but they will serve as a warning that a lot of work remains to be done if we are to understand how social and pedagogic pressures work in the language classroom.

4.4 Where next? Pedagogical solutions or more research?

Now that I have identified a major phenomenon that I propose underlies the issue captured in my title, discussed its two forms, proposed two mechanisms by which the forms might have a negative effect on learning outcomes, and now suggested one single major (if highly complex) underlying cause, where do we go from here?

Two radically different possibilities immediately come to mind. We can either look for pedagogical approaches (existing or to be devised) that might help us deal with the practical problems identified so far, or we might look for research (again existing or to be devised) that might throw light on the issues involved. The first possibility is immediately attractive, from one point of view at least, because the huge diversity of approaches (not distinguishing, for the moment at least, between 'approach', 'method', and 'technique') that characterises the field of language teaching might well have thrown up ways of managing classrooms that at least promise to minimise the problem of under-representation of self. My examples so far have been taken from mainstream language teaching influenced by audiolingualism and by the early ideas of the communicative approach. It may well be that the problem of under-representation is at least to some extent an artefact of the language teaching approach now most widespread, with its emphasis on public performance.

But going for pedagogical solutions first flies in the face of my own contention (and conviction) that problems need to be thoroughly understood before solutions are attempted (see Allwright and Lenzuen, 1997). Only when a situation has been understood can we expect, surely, to be in a position to propose rational solutions to any problems we may have identified. So it would seem to make a lot more sense to focus on research initially, to develop precisely the sort of thorough understanding that might one day permit the elaboration of practical suggestions that have a good chance of success. And yet, the problem I have identified is surely an urgent one, for learners everywhere. Can we afford to wait until the 'researchers' have finished their work and come up with some practical suggestions? In addition, can we really trust 'researchers', however long we give them, to reach the sort of understanding that is really going to be practically useful to the people who are actually in the classroom - the teacher and the learners? Wouldn't it make more sense to try to bring the two enterprises together (see Allwright et al, 1994), so that the classroom participants are themselves engaged in doing their best to understand what is happening to them (with whatever help academic researchers like myself may be able, hopefully, to provide), and in coming up with their own understanding-based suggestions as to how they might make classroom life 'better' for themselves?

In spite of the foregoing, in the next section I will nevertheless review the pedagogical thoughts that arise when we consider the problem of the under-representation of self. This will provide the background for a discussion of how such thoughts might perhaps lead to a productive integration of pedagogy and research.

5. What has *practical pedagogical* thinking got to offer?

5.1 Introduction

Generally, the obvious practical pedagogical issue that arises is surely: are we just talking about rather incompetent classroom management? Is there really anything here that needs a great amount of effort expended on it? Can we not expect to be able to simply improve our technical competence to run classes - via more precisely focussed teacher training perhaps - so that learners no longer find themselves in a position where they feel any sort of pressure to under-represent themselves? For example, wasn't group work originally devised not just to give learners more speaking practice but also to provide them with a less stressful setting in which to get that extra practice? And haven't people been working on helping learners with learning strategies training so that they should be able to avoid such problems? And shouldn't work on learner autonomy have shown us a way forward that so radically changes teacher/learner relationships that self-representation is no longer a problem, and so on? The following subsections will review experience so far with these pedagogical ideas, and conclude that whatever they may have to offer it is unlikely ultimately to be entirely adequate - that some new ideas are going to be necessary, therefore, and specifically ideas that integrate pedagogy and research.

To start with, however, it may be helpful to draw attention to a recent development on our field that is really rather intriguing - the return to positive discussion about the possible benefits of strong authority in the classroom. This is most clearly seen, perhaps, in Holliday's recent (1997) discussion of six 'communicative' classes in China and India.

5.2 Could a return to strong authority in the language classroom help?

Holliday suggests that, at least in the special setting of the university-level English language teaching he had observed, it may be most appropriate, and most effective therefore, if communicative language teaching is delivered by teachers who hold on to the local tradition of the teacher as a strong authority in the classroom, in spite of the widespread belief that communicative language teaching necessitates a fundamental 'democratisation' of teacher/learner relationships. As Stevick warns:

> If we, in our zeal to be 'humanistic', become too learner-centred with regard to 'control', we undermine the learner's most basic need, which is for security. (1980:33)

Holliday does not deal specifically with the issue of the under-representation of self in his extremely interesting article, but his discussion does prompt the thought that if strong authority offers security for many learners, rather than irksome restriction, then it may help them to 'be themselves'. Perhaps people under-represent themselves because of a fundamental lack of security they feel in the typical mainstream language classroom. I'm thinking here of the sort of classroom exemplified in Cherchalli's data - one that is more or less influenced historically by audio-lingualism's insistence, on the grounds that speaking and listening are ontogenetically prior to writing and reading, on the extensive use in class of public oral work. This oral revolution represents a major, and highly pervasive, development in language teaching in the latter part of the twentieth century. It is one that has succeeded so well that even learners whose practical need for a language does not realistically include much speaking are nevertheless likely to insist that they need extensive conversation practice. It has also been strong enough to influence the general perception of communicative language teaching as being essentially concerned with oral skills (as if writing was not a communicative activity). And it is behind mainstream communicative language teaching's insistence (following Littlewood, 1981) on moving systematically from audio-lingualism's highly controlled, and instantly corrected, oral practice activities to much more freedom, progressively reducing the level of control and degree of correction and thus offering even less direct support to such public oral work than was offered under audio-lingualism. And this could explain an even weaker sense of security for learners in language classrooms in the last twenty or so years, especially when coupled with the widespread promotion of a poorly understood conception of 'democratisation' that invites teachers to confuse 'authority' with 'authoritarianism' and to shun, therefore, anything that looks like 'control' (for an important and insightful discussion of the notion of 'control' in the language classroom see Stevick, 1980, Chapter 2, pp16-33).

So perhaps a return to a proper consideration of the role of authority in the language classroom might help minimise the problem of the under-representation of self. But before taking that particular route we would presumably be well advised to try to find out if classrooms that are run with a strong central authority do in practice offer the sort of security for learners that allows them to be fully themselves, and to not have to pretend about their abilities. That is an empirical matter, one to return to later under the heading of thoughts about research that is needed, and one for which we might expect culture and gender to play significant roles. Meanwhile one methodological contribution of the oral revolution deserves consideration here - group work.

5.3 Could more group work help?

At first sight the picture is encouraging perhaps:

> *When I work in a group my friends help me, encourage me, but when I'm alone I'm lost. (From Cherchalli, 1988: 157)*

Under such conditions the representation of self ought not to be much of a problem. But of course not everyone feels the same about it:

> *The group does not work. It's me who gives all the ideas. I prefer to work by myself to better concentrate...I learn more. (From Cherchalli, 1988:205)*

This particular learner may not be concerned about self-representation, but it is clear that group work is just not a viable answer for this person anyway. It ought to be obvious, of course, that putting people in small groups, while it would effectively reduce the size of the audience they were performing in front of (and perhaps exclude the teacher from that audience for at least most of the time), could not possibly guarantee an adequately supportive social setting for all learners to properly 'be themselves'. In fact, eliminating the teacher, especially if the teacher's strong authority (as has been suggested above) is a valued guarantor of security, might merely be asking for otherwise hidden animosities between learners to emerge and be given room to develop into a serious threat to learner progress, through the under-representation of self among other problems.

You could of course argue that all teachers need is training to make sure they group learners appropriately, and/or that all learners need is training to make sure they know how to work successfully in groups. But it is not, and cannot be, that simple. When I was working in Canada in 1991 I followed several learners through a whole study skills course, interviewing them at least twice a week. One of the teacher's priorities was to help the learners learn to form groups sensibly and to work well in groups, but one of the learners I was interviewing regularly had a story to tell that showed just how difficult that could be. The teacher had told the class to form groups of three, and to do so very carefully because the groups were going to last several sessions, and were going to be asked to do important work. My informant told me she immediately identified two women, over on the other side of the room, whom she really wanted to work with, because she would greatly value their company in a learning group. But she was nearly eight months pregnant, and so capable of moving only rather slowly, and she knew that these two other women were generally very highly regarded by everybody, and so very likely to be in high demand as group partners. So, firstly she might not get across the room fast enough, and secondly, even if she did get there before anyone else, she could not be at all sure that they would want to work with her, given the wide choice they would be bound to have. So she decided to abandon that plan and to look for alternative group members, but of course her choice was by now already getting restricted, as groups were forming quite quickly. But there were still some people who had not yet got sorted out into groups, including two people standing together but so far without a third one. One of them was a person she really did not particularly want to work with, but the other was altogether more acceptable, so she decided to cut her losses and see if they would let her join them. As she moved towards them, however, the person she would have been very happy to work with moved away, and another not particularly promising person arrived. So now she looked as if she was going to be stuck with working with two other people neither of whom she actually expected to be good learning company. And then she saw the teacher coming towards them.

Since the teacher knew her well, and she trusted the teacher to have her best interests at heart, she relaxed because she was sure the teacher would see her problem and help her find a way out, but as the teacher arrived she said something like: 'Oh good, you're a three already', and moved on to sort out other 'stray' people.

So she was in fact stuck with a group she did not expect to be good learning company, and with a teacher who probably thought she (my informant) had got the grouping she wanted. No-one, really, could be blamed for such an outcome. It's a good example of what I have read about somewhere as the 'failure of the context'. But it all goes to show that even with special training, and even with the best will in the world, and with intelligent thinking on a learner's part, you cannot guarantee that forming groups will be reducible to a matter of simple technical competence. Much more is likely to be involved. But it does still seem worth looking at the potential for learner training.

5.4 Could training in learning strategies help?

The above anecdote will already have served to issue a warning about taking the success of learner training for granted. It may be worth adding to that some more thoughts about the topic of training in learning strategies. My main concern here is that we seem to have been working too often with a deficit model of learning strategies, making the assumption that if learners don't use learning strategies it must be because they do not yet 'have' them. Following this model all we need to do is to teach them the strategies they currently lack so that they will then have the relevant strategies and thus be able straightforwardly to make their learning suitably efficient. My own assumption, partly from contemplating the sort of anecdote just reported above, is that it might be more appropriate to assume that learners 'know' a good many strategies that they do not exhibit in their practical repertoire. As in the example just given, my informant 'knew' what she needed from other learners, and knew who she therefore needed to work with, but was quite unable to ensure that she actually got to work with the most appropriate people for her learning needs. Similarly, we have already seen that learners who do not ask questions in class may nevertheless know very well that it would be a good idea to do so, but they find themselves inhibited in practice from doing what they know in theory would be intelligent learning behaviour. I have explored this area at greater length in another paper (see Allwright 1997a), where I suggest that, as for the under-representation of self, it is probable that the classroom puts people under social pressures that prevent them from using the learning strategies that they already know about, and thus from behaving as intelligently as they know how in the language classroom. Teaching them learning strategies as if they were new, or teaching them how to use strategies they already know as if that was nothing more than a straightforward matter without social implications, is therefore most unlikely to be productive.

So perhaps we should not expect too much from learning training, especially if, as seems typical, it does not in practice address the potentially crucial issue of the influence of social pressures on classroom behaviour. Some more radical approach therefore seems likely to be necessary, one that deals directly with classroom learning processes and the importance of social pressures. The most obvious candidate here would appear to be full-blown learner autonomy.

5.5 Could more learner autonomy help?

On the face of it, if learners accept full autonomy in their language learning, they are also accepting full responsibility for it, and so that 'lets the teacher off the hook'. It is no longer the teacher's problem if learners inhibit each other, and there is no longer any opportunity for the teacher to do any inhibiting. But that analysis, however logical, is unlikely to appear very satisfactory. It might be acceptable if we were talking about a number of learners who independently organised themselves into a learning group and then looked for a 'teacher' to act as language and language learning consultant to the group (along the lines of Scandinavian 'learning circles, perhaps). But that is all too rare, and not an imaginable scenario for compulsory school systems around the world. In the world of compulsory schooling autonomy projects are necessary conducted against a background of ultimate teacher (and institutional) responsibility for whatever education the learners receive. So teachers cannot just 'pass the buck' to the learners. And in any case, if we teachers did 'pass the buck' completely to the learners, in any educational system (public or private), and they then asked us for help in coping with the social pressures they were putting each other under, what would we say in response? Would we feel entirely justified if we said: 'It's up to you to sort yourselves out somehow. It's none of my business.'?

In practice, autonomy projects have been mounted, successfully and over long periods of time, within compulsory school systems (see, for example, the compendium of reports compiled by Holec in 1988). So have they addressed the issues raised in this paper, and, if so, how? Intriguingly, what is probably the best known and longest document autonomy project is headed by a person who is also known to exert, and to be happy to exert, strong authority in her classes - Leni Dam. She recognises that offering learners 'autonomy' also involves risking their feeling even more insecure than they might otherwise. And she is quite clear that her strong personality is a major factor in helping learners feel confident that she can help them become successful language learners. Such a situation is at first sight paradoxical, perhaps, but the point it makes is that we cannot expect learners (under compulsory schooling conditions) to be able to simply 'be autonomous' because they are allowed to be. They are going to need help because they are going to have to *learn* how to be autonomous successfully. Knowing how to be successfully autonomous, especially in a classroom situation in compulsory schooling, is not simply a matter of knowing what language you want to learn, how you want to learn it, and how you are going to find out if your learning work has been successful. All that, however crucial it may be, is just the 'technical' side. Knowing how to be successfully autonomous means being able to make it all work, for you, in the day-to-day circumstances of lessons, with the best possible 'use' of your fellow learners, without hindering in any way *their* learning, and preferably being useful to them as well. Doing that well is necessarily a considerable social accomplishment, then, not just an intellectual and organisational one. Published discussions of language learner autonomy typically focus almost exclusively on the intellectual and organisational issues, however, and fail to deal fully with the social aspects of making classroom autonomy successful. (It may be worth noting that in north America the topic was initially handled under the heading of 'individualisation' - see Altman, 1972). Learner autonomy work may succeed in putting the language firmly on the classroom agenda as something to be investigated, and in putting individual learning processes on the agenda in the same way (so that, for example, learners will be asked to seriously concern themselves with such questions as what bit of

the language to focus on next, and what learning activity to adopt in order to focus on it productively), but somehow the social processes involved in classroom language learning seem to receive far less attention (though for a distinguished exception see Dam and Gabrielsen, 1988, who in the concluding paragraph of their article write: 'For us as teachers, perhaps the most important aspect of our project is the awareness we have gained of learning processes and social processes in the classroom').
Even this very welcome statement falls short, however, of referring explicitly to the potential importance of the learners developing for themselves an awareness of these social processes. And if we think of this as putting the social processes of classroom language learning on the classroom agenda, then this can be done in any classroom. There is no need for it to be associated with an autonomy project, although it might (we should perhaps note in passing) provide an acceptable way of leading learners towards an interest in their own learning that might at the same time prompt in them a greater sense of responsibility for their own learning and thus a greater interest in developing more learner autonomy for themselves. But leaving that possibility aside for now, we can look for a way of putting the social processes of classroom language learning firmly on the classroom agenda, and this is where the notion of 'Exploratory Practice' can be invoked.

5.6 Could 'Exploratory Practice' help?

'Exploratory Practice' is the name for a proposal for integrating research into classroom practice (see Allwright, Lenzuen, Mazzillo and Miller, 1994, and Allwright and Lenzuen, 1997). It has been developed mostly as an indefinitely sustainable tool for teacher development. It has two main principles. The first principle is that understanding what goes on in the classroom is primary, and a necessary pre-requisite in any case, for any intelligent problem-solving there. The second principle is that work done for understanding what goes on in the classroom must not hinder the teaching and learning processes themselves, and should whenever possible promote them instead. Work on 'Exploratory Practice' (mostly in Brazil) has also developed two major ways of honouring these two principles. The first of these, in respect of the first principle, is to start by identifying things that it would be good to understand - classroom 'puzzles'. They sometimes present themselves simply as aspects of classroom life that are interesting, but more often they arise initially as practical problems that need to be solved, in which case we re-think them into 'puzzles' and work for understanding them before deciding if a solution can or should be proposed. The second principle is honoured by focussing initially on 'monitoring' what happens in the classroom (the teacher taking time to observe carefully how learners do or do not use the target language in group work, for example). If this does not provide an adequate level of understanding then it may be necessary to do something of a more directly interventionist kind, but, in line with the second principle, it must be something that not only does not interfere with the teaching and learning processes but preferably something that actually promotes them. For this we have found that it is typically perfectly possible to adapt language learning activities that the class is already familiar with. For example, groups may actually find it helpful to talk about what is happening inside their group - to talk about why they find it so easy to slip into the mother tongue and so difficult to hold onto English, for example, instead of talking about 'malaria', or 'pollution', or whatever other topic the textbook might suggest. In this way they can get on with their language learning and also gain some insight at the same time into the processes they are going through. And the teacher, as an observer to all this group discussion, may also develop his or her understanding significantly. This may sound very idealistic, but it was a Brazilian teacher's account of doing exactly what I have described that first prompted the thought that at least some familiar language learning activities could probably be converted quite easily into tools for the development of understanding, without taking away from their value in purely language learning terms. To cap it all, this story came directly after another teacher had talked about going to all the trouble of devising, and then of putting four hundred learners to all the trouble of completing, a questionnaire on the same set of issues, and then finding the data quite uninterpretable.

It would be well beyond the scope of this paper to say much more here about the principles and practices of 'Exploratory Practice', but perhaps enough has already been said to suggest that they might indeed offer a productive framework for putting the social processes of classroom language learning squarely on the classroom agenda, as 'puzzles' to be understood, so that teachers and learners together could hope to better understand the issue at the heart of this paper - why it is so very difficult for learners to learn as well as they know how. I did note at the beginning of this section, however, that Exploratory Practice has so far been developed largely as a tool for *teacher* development. Its potential for *learner* development has therefore remained largely unexplored. It should not be to difficult, however, to devise further ways, in addition to the group work example above, in which the principles and the practices can be used so that the learners can develop their understandings at the same time as the teacher is developing his or hers, and in respect of puzzles which they themselves identify. If this looks like asking too much of them in the first place, then the quotations from the

Cherchalli data used in this paper could be offered to them as discussion material, and they could be invited to adopt or adapt from these, or to add their own. *(IMPORTANT NOTE: You are very welcome to use the material from Safya Cherchalli's thesis for educational (non profit-making) purposes, **but please do not do so without explicitly and fully acknowledging her work.**)* The potential is surely great for extended classroom work on learner-identified (or at least learner-selected) puzzles, and for extended classroom work that, unlike such 'un-integrated' research activities as the filling-in of extended questionnaires in the first language, will contribute positively to target language development rather than risk detracting from it.

5.7 Returning to a more 'academic' approach

But does such an argument against the possible abuses that 'academic' research projects may sometimes be guilty of rule out any further discussion of the research perspective as such? In the next section I will return to a more 'academic' research perspective and consider what issues need to be addressed, however the investigations themselves may be conducted, whether or not they follow the proposals of Exploratory Practice.

6. What has *academic research* thinking got to offer?

6.1 Introduction

Exploratory Practice, as described above, runs a clear risk that the issues investigated, if identified by the learners, will not be ones that are closest to the concerns of this paper. That may be a risk well worth taking, of course, if learner development is itself more important to you than this particular enterprise. Pre-determining what shall be investigated, however, runs the equally problematic risk of failing to address whatever issues really do concern learners, and thus perhaps not helping in any case. Even taking the trouble to try to pre-identify key research issues, as will be done in this section, runs the risk of providing a research agenda that will leave researchers and teachers less open than they might otherwise have been to what learners themselves might have to say about 'being themselves' in the language classroom.

Against such a background, then, I will now present, from my position as an 'academic' researcher, what I see as the major issues that any sort of investigation needs to address.

6.2 Describing and understanding the occurrence of the phenomenon of 'under-representation'

The phenomenon of 'under-representation' has been captured here mostly in the form of personal anecdotes or isolated quotations. We clearly need to have much more descriptive information. We need, for example, to identify both the various forms that under-representation takes, and the differing conditions under which they appear. We also need to know just how prevalent the occurrence is. Is it virtually universal, or much less common than I have now come to expect? Beyond such purely descriptive information, we also need to identify the possible reasons for any patterns we may find in the relationship between forms and conditions. Are gender and culture, for example, the sorts of factors we might ordinarily expect them to be? Or is relative achievement more influential in practice?

6.3 Understanding the nature of the relationship of the phenomenon to language development

Differential achievement may be a causal factor for under-representation, but under-representation, as we have seen, may also be a causal factor for differential achievement. We need studies that will throw light on this relationship in particular. This paper has proposed a primitive model to suggest what the mechanisms might be, but it is necessarily based largely on conjecture. The model also introduced the notion of 'under-teaching', which itself will need to be investigated, first descriptively, and then in terms of its relationship to language development.

6.4 Evaluating the importance of under-representation to language development

It would be logically prior to all of the above to try to establish whether or not we are dealing with a phenomenon of any real practical importance as far as language learning development is concerned. Unfortunately, however, we have learned in recent decades that we cannot expect to be able to establish straightforward causal relationships between complex social phenomena. We must not expect to be able to say, for example, that under-representation accounts for any particular percentage of student achievement. What we may be able to do, however, after or perhaps even alongside investigating the issues in the above two sections, is to gain a better understanding of the *probable* practical importance of under-representation to achievement. And we can certainly hope to gain some understanding of participants' (teachers' and learners') *perceptions* of its probable importance. It may be worth noting one rather worrying aspect of conducting such an investigation, though. Can we be sure that raising the issue to consciousness is not itself going to exacerbate the situation rather than help heal it? At the very least we need to acknowledge that raising the issue to consciousness might change the situation itself that we are trying to understand.

6.5 Exploring/evaluating ways of combating 'under-representation'

Exploratory Practice, as presented above, offers a possible way of investigating under-representation that might, in itself, also offer a way of combating it, by directly involving the learners in trying to better understand their learning situation. Perhaps surprisingly, there is already some reason for optimism here. The teacher who reported asking her learners to discuss why it was so difficult for them to hold on to English during group work also reported that not only did she feel she understood them much better as a result, and that they appeared to understand each others' problems much better too, but also that when she next conducted group work with them they seemed to be trying much harder to stay in English. So, in this case at least, raising the issue to consciousness had apparently, simply through the understanding it generated, gone at least some way towards dealing practically with the original problem.

But we clearly cannot take such an encouraging outcome for granted. We need to understand much more about such matters. Exploratory Practice is obviously not the only source of ideas that might combat 'under-representation'. And if we are going to take the risk of conducting an 'academic' research project that might appear to be imposing the topic of under-representation on participants, then we may need to take steps at the same time to develop procedures that will help us avoid exacerbating the situation under investigation. Such procedures might themselves constitute useful ways of combating under-representation, and so it would make sense to monitor them closely and to learn as much as possible from them.

6.6 Exploring/evaluating defensible ways of developing understandings

It would be a irresponsible of me to end this set of comments about key research issues without some further thoughts about an issue that has been mentioned but probably not yet emphasised enough yet - the fundamental issue in the field of educational research of how any understandings are to be developed in such a way that the relationship between teachers and researchers is improved in the process, rather than worsened. This is not the place to dwell at length on the sad history of that relationship. Suffice it to say that anyone undertaking research as an 'academic' outsider in any way owes it to the education profession in general to at least try to do something to heal the wounds that have been inflicted on the teacher/researcher relationship by thoughtless researchers in the past, and must certainly do everything possible to avoid exacerbating the situation.

But even raising the issue of learner under-representation of self with teachers could be problematic, because many of the examples of the phenomenon in the pages above put the teacher in the role of chief villain, either directly because of things teachers say or do themselves, or indirectly because of their failure to prevent other people from doing unfortunate things. For example, the teacher who asked a learner to come up to the board and 'read a few sentences' was not directly responsible for the surreptitious laughter, but could perhaps be held responsible (at least by the unfortunate learner who got laughed at) for conducting a class in which such things could happen.

One possible way of approaching this very sensitive issue might be through re-thinking all the issues raised in the foregoing paper to see if a case might be made for seeing teachers as victims themselves, as people who are also to a large extent at the mercy of social pressures in the language classroom, but with the added problem that they are liable to be held responsible for matters over which they have little or no power. The learners can blame the teacher, or each other, but the teachers have no-one to blame except themselves, because if they blame the learners they are effectively blaming themselves for failing to get the learners to behave responsibly.

If academic outsider researchers can see teachers as potential victims at least as much as potential villains, they might approach teachers more sympathetically, and get the relationship off to a better start (though the potential for a patronising sort of sympathy should no doubt worry us).

And if teachers should reverse history and make the first move, approaching academic researchers for help in developing their understandings, then the relationship should be even more healthy, from the beginning.

But, is there in fact a case for seeing teachers as victims in any serious way?

7. Social pressures and the language teacher

7.1 The issue of pressures outside the classroom

The first point that comes to mind here is that teachers, like learners, are subject to social pressures outside the classroom as well as inside it. So, is there, for example, pressure put on teachers by their peers, and/or by their institutions, to under-represent their teaching selves in any way? Is the particularly keen and industrious teacher ever an embarrassment rather than an adornment to a school? Or are teachers everywhere put under so much pressure to secure ever-improving results from their learners that teachers feel encouraged to perform at their best in the classroom at all times, even if their results might make some of their colleagues look relatively incompetent?

7.2 Pressures inside the classroom

Inside the classroom, are teachers subject to learner pressure not to push too hard? Are teachers who set very high standards (of social behaviour as well as of learning achievement) adequately rewarded for their efforts by appreciative learners, or are they more likely to be viewed as unreasonably difficult people to please?

7.3 The need for more understanding of the social pressures on teachers

Quite obviously I do not have answers to these sorts of questions. I am posing them here simply because I think it very important that such issues be addressed as part of any investigation into the phenomenon of the under-representation of self in the language classroom, so that teachers shall not be labelled villains if it would ever be more appropriate to consider them victims. The evidence I have from classroom transcripts of language lessons, however, does indeed suggest that language teachers are very likely to be caught up in episodes of interaction that show them apparently bowing to social pressure to put 'harmony' before 'achievement' (see again Allwright, 1989a and b), even conspiring with their learners (albeit covertly) so that everyone can leave the room under the illusion that all must be well pedagogically if all appears to be well socially. It remains to be seen, however, whether or not such episodes could perhaps also be interpreted as evidence of teacher under-representation in any way, and/or of teachers being at the mercy of forces it would be quite unreasonable to expect them to be able to control.

8. Final thoughts on the paper as a recruitment campaign

8.1 Is this really a neglected area for investigation?

A major worry for anyone introducing a topic they see as rather new is that everyone else will immediately rush to tell them that there is already a huge literature that they have somehow missed. I am reasonably confident that I have probably not missed very much in the literature *in English* that is specific to language teaching and learning, but that leaves out the rest of the world's literature on language teaching and learning. It also leaves out the general education literature. I am much less confident of my coverage of the general education literature, even of work in English, but it is obvious that it might have addressed highly relevant issues and done a lot of conceptual and empirical work (though perhaps under very different headings) that could be brought to bear on the field of classroom language teaching and learning.

So, before we waste too much effort, we need to know whether we are re-inventing yet another wheel.

Perhaps there are countless people working in this area already, though, directly in the field of classroom language learning and teaching. If so, I would very much like to hear from them. If not, I would like to encourage people to join in. The topic looks highly suitable for Exploratory Practice, as I have outlined it in Section 5.6 above, as long as the issue of imposition is properly handled. It also seems to me to be extremely promising for doctoral and MA dissertation work in our field, as long as the highly problematic issue of the teacher/researcher relationship is properly handled. It is extremely promising for such academic research, I believe, because the phenomenon seems to be so ubiquitous, and therefore not only readily available for study, but also already likely to be well within the personal experience of anyone doing the research.

8.2 A request for colleagues to join in

So, this is a move in a recruiting campaign, hoping to get more people interested in adopting this area as one where it would be useful to develop much better understandings, either via academic research or via participant research as in Exploratory Practice, or of course via some sensible combination of the two. First, though, we need bibliographical research to find out just what has been done already, and then we can start doing whatever remains to be done. My e-mail address is: r.allwright@lancs.ac.uk

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Bibliographical note: Some of the things I have written have been published using my initials (R.L.) and others using the diminutive form of my first name (Dick = Richard). I have used both forms above, in the hope that it will ultimately clarify rather than confuse.

BRIDGING THE GAP BETWEEN REAL LIFE AND THE LANGUAGE CLASSROOM - PRINCIPLES, PRACTICES AND OUTCOMES

Leni Dam, Karlslunde

This paper will look at principles underlying the organization and the contents of a language classroom where the aim is to bridge the gap between real life and classroom life. It will give examples of activities and tools which have proved useful when working towards this aim. Finally, it will very briefly look at successes as well as problems experienced in this type of classroom setting.

1. Why is it important?

> No school, or even university, can provide its pupils or students with all the knowledge and the skills they will need in their active adult lives. Adult life, in its personal as well as its vocational aspects, is far too diverse and too subject to change for any educational curriculum to attempt to provide a detailed preparation. It is more important for a young person to have an understanding of himself or herself, an awareness of the environment and its workings, and to have learned how to think and how to learn. (Trim, 1988:3)

This quotation by Trim covers of course any subject taught in school or at university. However, when it comes to language teaching and learning it seems especially vital that we prepare our learners not just for adult life but for life outside school in general. Now more than ever, it is crucial that they learn to cope with the exigencies of living[1] - in their mother tongue as well as in a foreign language.

2. How is it done? – some principles

> Greater influence/responsibility on part of the learners in planning and in conducting the ongoing teaching-learning activities will lead to a greater degree of active involvement/better learning in the actual teaching-learning situation, which again will influence the learner's potential for evaluating the process. (Dam, 1982:12)

If this early experience of mine from engaging learners in their own learning is added to Trim's quotation, it is obvious that we must be aiming at a classroom and a learning environment where the learners are supported in finding answers to questions like: Who am I? How do I learn – best? It is essential that we supply our learners with an awareness of how they think and how they learn - an awareness which hopefully will promote an understanding of themselves and thus strengthen their self-esteem – a prerequisite for coping with life. If we manage this then a good circle has been created:

active involvement in the learning process
⇓
improved insight into how to learn and what to learn
⇓
improved self-esteem
⇓
increased involvement in a learning process

Once established, this circle will inevitably provide our learners with action knowledge rather than school knowledge as described by Barnes (1976:83):

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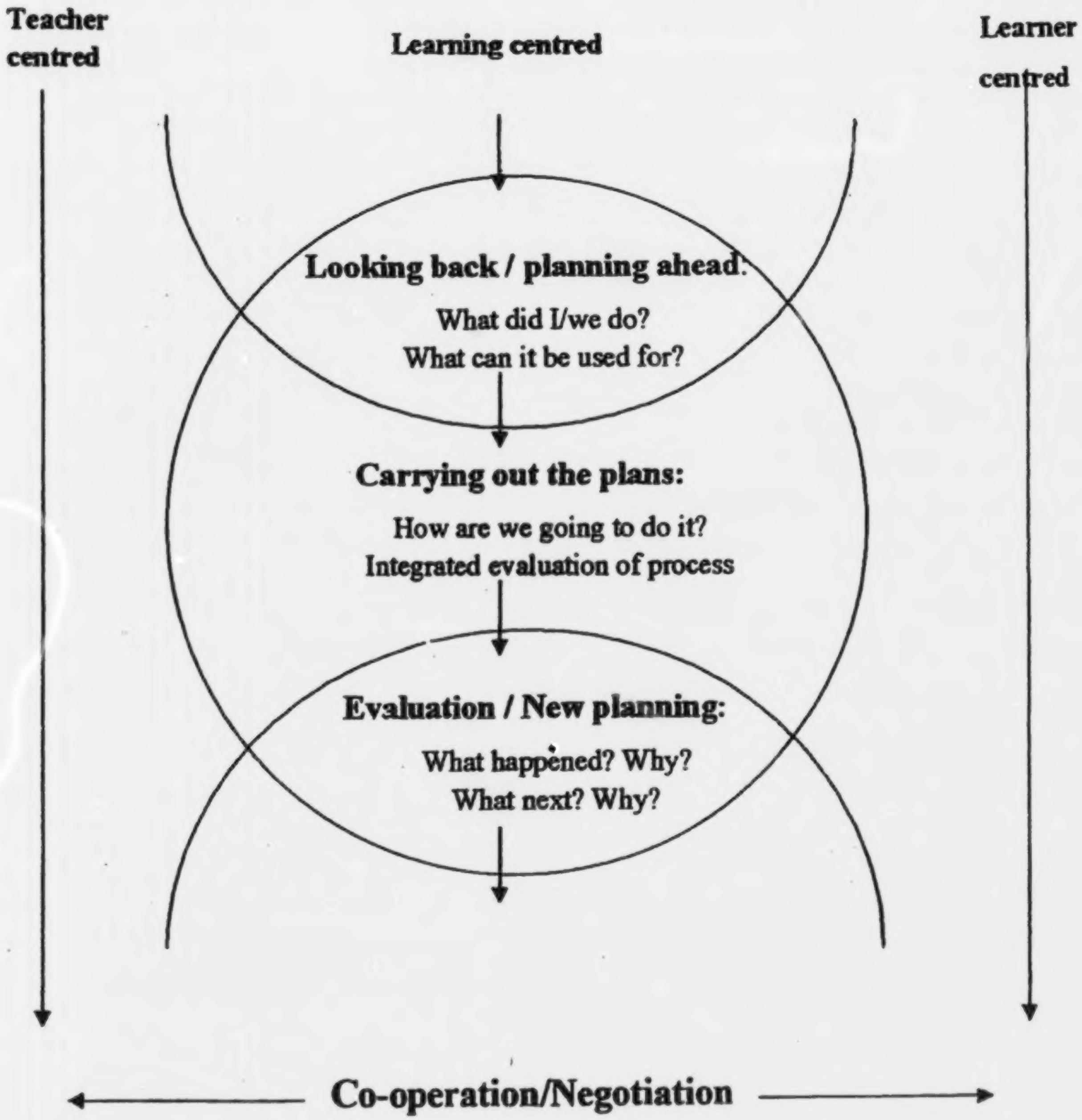
[1] See the description of school knowledge as opposed to action knowledge in Barnes, 1976:83.

> School knowledge is the knowledge which someone else presents to us. We partly grasp it, enough to answer the teacher's questions, to do exercises, or to answer examination questions, but it remains someone else's knowledge, not ours. If we never use this knowledge we probably forget it. In so far we use knowledge for our own purposes however we begin to incorporate it into our view of the world, and to use parts of it to cope with the exigencies of living. Then it becomes action knowledge.

The simplified model of a teaching/learning sequence (next page) shows the main elements whenever teaching and learning takes place. It indicates that whenever we do any planning we base it consciously or unconsciously on our previous knowledge and experience. We will then carry out the plans and finally we will evaluate what happened and make use of this gained experience when planning ahead. If we are aiming at bridging the gap between real life and the language classroom, we must focus on how best to create a **learning centred** environment. A learning centred environment is the environment in which the teacher's knowledge about language learning - what to learn and how to learn - is combined with the learners' knowledge about themselves, their background, their likes and dislikes, their needs, and their preferred learning styles. In a learning centred environment the teacher is responsible for setting up an environment where the focus is on learning and where the learners are given the possibility, consciously to be involved in their own learning. The learners on their part are expected to be actively engaged in their own learning. In this way they will become aware of the different elements involved in - and when - learning - an awareness to be made use of in other learning contexts e.g. outside school. But perhaps most important is the fact that the creation of a learning centred environment is based on

A simplified model of a teaching/learning sequence



Teacher centred

Learning centred

Learner centred

Looking back / planning ahead:

What did I/we do?

What can it be used for?

Carrying out the plans:

How are we going to do it?

Integrated evaluation of process

Evaluation / New planning:

What happened? Why?

What next? Why?

Co-operation/Negotiation

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negotiation and a constant dialogue between its participants – a case of authentic communication.

3. The language classroom

You are now entering a foreign
language classroom
- forget that you are normal!

Even though things are improving I would claim that in many cases this sign could – and should – be placed outside many foreign language classrooms. How often is it not the case that one of the first activities taking place when a new language is being introduced is to let the learners ask each other: What is your name? – learners, who might have known each other for at least four years. To make it even worse, the activity is often repeated when the second and third foreign language is introduced. Or what about the teacher who holds a pencil in front of a student and asks, *What it this*? Apart from a TV quiz about strange and unusual items from museums I can't think of a similar situation from real life. After a few weeks, being satisfied with the vocabulary achieved the teacher may place the pencil – deliberately - on the table in front of the student and ask, *Where is the pencil*? – because it is now time to teach the adverbs. On the surface all this might seem OK, and many teachers claim that their learners love these activities and find them great – and 'they practise oral communication'! However, when aiming at a classroom setting where the aim is to provide the learners with a communicative competence to be used in real life it is problematic. The problem is that the learners quickly accept that in the foreign language classroom we do things and practice sentences that are not only artificial to normal interaction and communication, but are seldom or hardly used in real life. And the learners follow suit.[2] Unfortunately, this behaviour and this type of classroom communication at beginners' level are still introduced in many course books. At a later stage when working with literature, it is quite common to find teacher and learners engaged in what the teacher believes to be a good discussion with the class. In reality, as Little points out,[3] we witness a fixed dialogue between the teacher and a few learners; a dialogue where the teacher asks the questions and the learners answer. We do not witness real communication.

If we want to bridge the gap between real life and the language classroom we must set up an environment where real communication takes place. We must accept that the foreign language classroom **is** a piece of 'real life' in its own right and should be used accordingly. It is a part of society, a social environment, with its own and special inhabitants (teacher and learners, and to a certain degree parents). It is an environment with rules and objectives similar to life in other parts of society. It is an environment where communication is essential in order to cope with the ongoing life there. Seen in this perspective the language classroom has become an arena for authentic communication – and the use of the foreign language has become the means as well as the aim.

When creating an arena for authentic communication we must remember that the learners are not empty bottles or blank sheets of paper when they enter the language classroom. They bring to the learning environment:

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[2] For examples, see Legenhausen, 1999.
[3] David Little has attended a classroom interaction like that. See Little, 1991: 29 ff.

- a knowledge of communication
- a knowledge of normal social behaviour
- a knowledge of the form and function of their first language
- a certain knowledge of words and structures in the foreign language
- above all, they bring their identities.

One of our tasks as teachers is to make systematic use of this knowledge.

3.1 The organisation of the classroom

A traditional language classroom is to a large extent teacher - and/or teaching - centred (next page). The following characteristics can often be found there:

- Tables and chairs are placed in rows or in a U-form so the learners face the teacher and vice versa.
- The teacher makes use of a course book. Its use is directed by the teacher: one lesson or chapter at a time for the whole class.
- Additional materials are often teacher-designed or at least provided by the teacher.
- In general, materials are supposed to facilitate teaching.
- Communication mainly takes place between teacher and learners.

As opposed to this setting, a learner centred and learning centred classroom[4] is characterized by:

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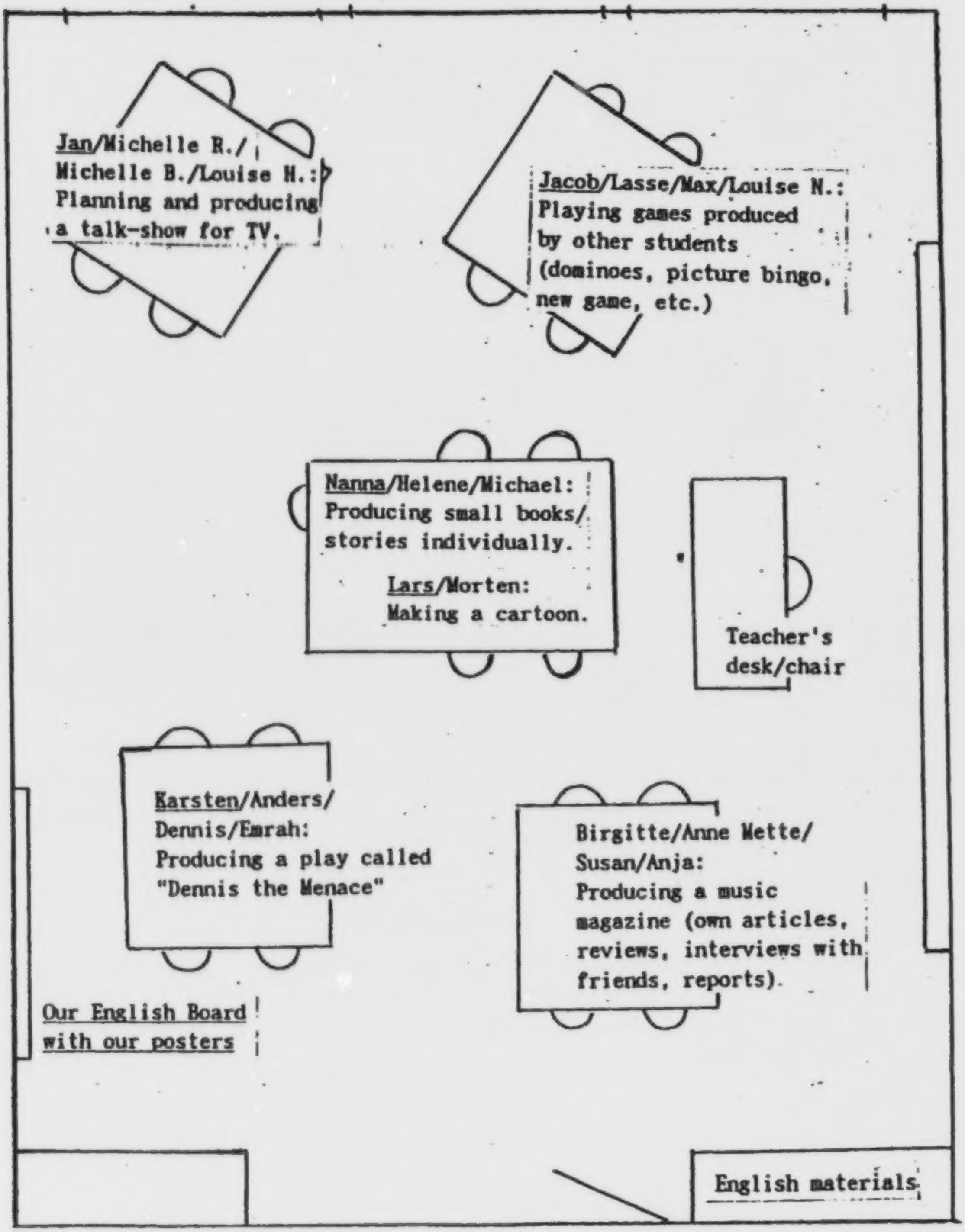
[4] An example of a classroom can be seen in the video 'Cooperative teaching and learning – Beginners of English', Gabrielsen/Thomsen, 1991 and in Dam/Thomsen, 1995.


Jan/Michelle R./
Michelle B./Louise H.:
Planning and producing
a talk-show for TV.
Jacob/Lasse/Max/Louise N.:
Playing games produced
by other students
(dominoes, picture bingo,
new game, etc.)
Nanna/Helene/Michael:
Producing small books/
stories individually.
Lars/Morten:
Making a cartoon.
Teacher's
desk/chair
Karsten/Anders/
Dennis/Emrah:
Producing a play called
"Dennis the Menace"
Birgitte/Anne Mette/
Susan/Anja:
Producing a music
magazine (own articles,
reviews, interviews with
friends, reports).
Our English Board
with our posters
English materials

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- An environment facilitating learning.
- A setting where the learners are facing each other.
- A setting which leaves space for the teacher to be engaged in group work as well as individual counselling.
- Learner-learner interaction and communication.

If we look into the classroom we can see that the tables are placed in groups seating 4-6 learners which means that each learner is facing 3-5 peers. This setting has got a number of advantages:

- It makes quick discussions and exchange of views within a group possible.
- It calls upon learner activity and peer tutoring.
- It supports individual learner involvement as it is less threatening to talk in a small group than in an open forum.
- It makes a transfer of focus from the teacher (traditionally "the entertainer") to the participants possible and facilitates thus learner-learner interaction.

The materials used in the learning-centred classroom also differ from the ones available in the teaching-centred classroom. In general the materials are not prepared for teaching, but are supposed to facilitate learning. On the shelves you will find:

- Written data/oral data that can be used by the learners on their own.

- 'Real' data brought to the classroom either by the learners or by the teacher.
- Visuals.
- Reference books.
- Learner produced materials.

The odd course book might also find its way to the shelf as a source of data. Individual learners or groups of learners can then make use of it for their specific needs or interests.

3.2 The structure of a period

One thing is the organisation of the classroom. More important is perhaps the structure of a lesson. Does it give scope for active learner involvement? How is the individual learner made aware of and responsible for his/her learning? What is the role of the teacher?

A plan for a teaching/learning period.

1. Teacher initiated and teacher directed activities promoting awareness raising as regards:

- the learning environment and the responsibilities expected from its participants
- useful language learning activities in terms of interpretation and expression
- learners' evaluation of teacher initiated activities.

2. Learner initiated and directed activities:

- Sharing homework.
- "2 minutes' talk".
- "Free", learner chosen activities in groups, in pairs or individually within the given conditions.
- Planning homework - and perhaps next step.
- Learners' evaluation of work carried out - individually, in pairs or in groups.

3. "Together" - shared activities:

- Presentation including evaluation of results or products from group work, pair work or individual work .
- Joint events such as songs, lyrics, story-telling, quizzes, etc.
- Joint over-all evaluation of the period

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This recently developed plan for a period seems to facilitate the establishment of a learning centred environment for a number of reasons:

- It clearly indicates the expected responsibilities on part of the teacher.
- It clearly indicates the responsibilities and activities expected to be undertaken by the learners.
- It leaves space for a joint session where experiences and gained knowledge can be shared.

The plan, which can vary from one lesson to several lessons, is divided into three clear-cut parts: Teacher initiated and directed activities, learner initiated and directed activities, and a "together" session. The structure in its present form makes it clear when the teacher is in charge and when he/she is a participant - a distinction which makes it easier for learners and teachers alike to grasp and make use of these different roles. The structure, furthermore, gives the classroom procedures certain stability and it provides its participants with a feeling of security. Most essential, though, is the fact that authentic communication is called for in all three phases.

3.3 Focus on activities

The organisation of the classroom is important. The structure of a lesson is important. However, when talking about bridging the gab between real life and the classroom, most important are the activities taking place. Do they engage the learners in awareness raising as regards themselves and their way of learning? Do they support self-esteem? Do they above all call for authentic communication between the learners themselves as well as between teacher and learners? In short, do the activities in the language classroom prepare our learners for coping with life outside the classroom? Do they bridge the gap?

Let us have another look at the structure of a period (page 51). The purpose of **the teacher directed and teacher initiated activities** is on the one hand to engage the learners in awareness raising activities as regards their own role in the learning process. Possible activities here could be activities where the learners are asked to consider the following questions:

- Why do I learn English? How do I learn English?
- When and how do I learn - best?
- What do I like? What do I not like? How do I show the rest of the class including the teacher?
- What is a good teacher? What is a good learner?
- What is a good group work? What is a good partner?

Furthermore, possible language learning activities in terms of interpreting the foreign language as well as being able to express oneself in the foreign language are introduced. Apart from focusing on the communicative abilities, the main criteria for the teacher's choice of activities in this category are:

- Are the activities authentic to the learners and the situation in which they are used?
- Is authentic communication asked for?
- Do the activities make it possible for the individual learner to make use of his or her previous knowledge?
- Do they make it possible for the learners to expand their previous knowledge?
- Do they show respect for and accept of the learners' personal views, insights, and interests?
- Do the activities give scope for learner/learner interaction and peer-tutoring?

Let me give two examples. At beginners' level the learners are asked to produce their own word cards with words decided by themselves and found either in brochures or in their picture dictionary.[5] On one side of the card the learners place a picture or make a drawing of the chosen word; on the other side they write the English word for it. The cards are then kept in envelopes labelled *Martin's word cards, Maria's word cards, Birgitte's word cards* and placed in a box named *Our own word cards* for everybody to make use of. The next activity introduced is therefore *Play word cards*. The learners are now asked to choose an envelope and 'play' with the word cards in pairs or in groups. Young learners are very good at finding out how to 'play' with the cards. They will in turns hold up a card for the others to say - or to spell at a later stage. The one who can do it will get the card. Older learners or adults might have to be given these ideas. The main idea is that the vocabulary practised and learned is the choice, the need, and the interest of the learner. Furthermore, the learners are at an early stage of their language learning engaged in learner-learner interaction and communication. The learners are encouraged to use English when playing. They might then need expressions like *Can you see what this is?* or *What is the English word for this?* But first when asked for, the expressions are provided – written - on a poster visible for everyone in the classroom.

At a later stage the activity '2 minutes' talk' is introduced. I don't know why I have called it '2 minutes' talk' because it is not a talk; it is a dialogue. And it seldom lasts for 2 minutes. At beginners' level it might be less; at intermediate level it certainly lasts longer. Anyway, the purpose of '2 minutes' talk' is to let the learners be involved in conversations about topics of their own choice in pairs or in small groups. Their topics will often be things experienced over the weekend, such as parties, football matches, a good film, etc., or they might include plans for the future. A follow-up of this activity is often the question: Did you have a good conversation/talk? Why/why not? The answers will result in a poster, which will mirror the learners' experience of 'a good talk' or the opposite:

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[5] The learners have no course book, but they are from the very beginning provided with a picture dictionary.

- Dennis asked good questions.
- It was a topic of interest to both of us.
- We lacked words and expressions.

As soon as the teacher has introduced a number of activities to be chosen and worked with by the learners themselves, it is time for the learners to take over. The second section, **learner directed and initiated activities**, really gives space for learner-learner interaction and authentic communication among the learners themselves.[6] It gives scope for the learners to bring the outside world into the classroom and vice versa. One of the activities in this section is the "Sharing of homework", an activity which implies that the learners in pairs or in groups present to and share with each other what they have done at home. It can be to read aloud a story or a small book produced at home. It can be a presentation of new word cards produced or - at a later stage – new words one has found while reading at home or when visiting the local co-op. Or it can be an individual contribution to a joint group project. As the learners prepare different things at home[7] according to their own interests and ability, the question *What have you done at home?* will lead to genuine communication – a communication, which can start already in the second week at beginners' level. At intermediate level the activities 'sharing homework' and '2 minutes' talk' are often combined e.g. when a group is working on a project. Or when a group is reading the same book. Then discussion points prepared by the learners themselves for the text in question will replace the '2 minutes' talk'.

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[6] The video 'It's up to yourself if you want to learn', Dam/Lentz 1999, gives many examples.

When the learners take over the procedures for planning and carrying out the plans themselves, the teacher gets a chance to be involved in the ongoing activities as a participant, as a discussant, as a facilitator, etc. She will then naturally be involved in authentic communication related to the process of learning.

Finally the structure includes **"Together - a place for shared activities".** This is where – among other things - the results of individual work, pair work, or group work will be presented. Not as much the products, because they might only be of interest to a few, but more important the processes and the knowledge gained as a result of the work undertaken - including gained knowledge about learning, and considerations as regards what to do next. A presentation will include the following items:

- What did we do?
- Why did we do it?
- How did we do it?
- Problems?
- Successes?
- With what result?
- Next step?

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[7] For a more detailed description of 'homework' see Dam, 1995: 18.

At the end of each presentation, the presentation itself as well as the product will be discussed and evaluated – once again an example of authentic communication between the learners themselves as well as between teacher and learners.

3.4 The use of internal, integrated evaluation

Looking at the simplified model of a teaching/learning sequence (fig.1) as well as the structure of a period (fig.3) it should be obvious that evaluation is regarded the pivot of the learning process. In principle every factor or element involved in the learning process is open for evaluation.[8] The format will vary according to what is evaluated and when it is done. In whichever format and whenever it is done, however, the evaluation will always give rise to discussions and revision of the work undertaken and will as such function as a tool for development and awareness raising.

When evaluating the process the following formats and types of evaluations are used:

- self-evaluation
- spontaneous, oral evaluations between peers and/or between teacher and learner(s) during or after an activity
- written evaluations in diaries or questionnaires; the latter being produced either by the teacher or the learners themselves
- planned oral evaluations in groups or whole class with or without the teacher – sometimes based questionnaires
- combinations of the forms above.

For further details see Dam, 1994 and Dam, 1995 and Dam/Thomsen, 1995.

As learning is something for the learner himself/herself to do,[9] evaluating the process when learning must basically also be for the learner himself/herself to do. When evaluating the process it is therefore of importance to begin with the learner's self-evaluation of own work. It is equally important to leave time for the learners individually to consider posed questions before having to be involved in evaluative debates or discussions. The learners are then prepared to take part in peer-to-peer evaluations where the self-evaluations/individual evaluations are shared. Finally the teacher might take part with his/her views if and when asked for, but always respecting the learners' own evaluations. This 'order' so to speak supports the learner's self-esteem and facilitates the move from teacher directed teaching to learner directed learning. It supports the learner's growing independence of 'a teacher'. In a traditional classroom setting, the teacher is normally the first one to do the evaluation. In many cases this causes an unintended dependence on a 'teacher's view' – a dependence which is difficult to get rid of - also outside school: *Is this good enough*? In a learning centred environment the 'together' session gives space for teacher as well as learner evaluations.

The internal, integrated evaluation forms more than anything the basis of genuine and authentic communication in the language classroom.

3.5 The use of learners' logbooks or diaries

Last but not least I will mention the use of diaries or logbooks – the learners' log books as well as the teacher's logbook. I, myself, first started using 'diaries' in my classes in the early 80es when some student logbooks were introduced at a conference by a Dutch colleague. What fascinated me was the possibility of keeping a personal record of what one was doing - in one book. Around the same time my students complained about the loads of loose papers, photocopies and questionnaires given to them, and I took over the idea with the logbook and made it suit my own needs and demands as well as the needs and demands of my students.

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[9] See among others Barnes, 1976:83.

Apart from keeping track of one's own work, the learners find that the diary is useful in connection with group work or pair work when setting up contracts and distributing tasks in connection with a project. The diary makes an overview of daily or weekly reflections and evaluations possible, and it facilitates a direct contact between the learner and the teacher. Used in this way, the diary becomes a tool for awareness raising - and genuine, authentic language learning. A page of a diary with the teacher's comments is reprinted on page 62.

sharing homework to practise my articulation

I will write some stories as homework, to practise my spelling and written language

④ Homework:

Write about my appendix operation
2 questions for the game on a paper
find a new book.

⑤ Comments on todays work.

- It was funny to hear about the others' work experience.

[illegible] I think I have lived up to my contract, because I have done what I said I would, I've read aloud, written stories, practised articulations by speeking a lot with Michae
My contract was to get a better articulati
better spelling, write some stories, and I think I have managed to be better in all of the three items.

10

1st May. Dear Karsten,
I agree with you,
it sounds as if you have worked determinedly with your contract - and from the tape-recordings I can tell that your articulation has improved immensely! Love Leni

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4. Bridging the gap – successes as well as problems

Has the learning environment described managed to bridge the gab between real life and the language classroom? If we look at the following answer from a 15-year-old girl when the class was asked what they had learned in their English lessons that they could make use of outside school, the answer must be yes.

> I already make use of the fixed procedures from our diaries when trying to get something done at home. Then I make a list of what to do or remember the following day. That makes things much easier. I have also via English learned to start a conversation with a stranger and ask good questions. And I think that our "together" session has helped me to become better at listening to other people and to be interested in them. I feel that I have learned to believe in myself and to be independent.

If we in addition consider the communicative abilities developed in these learners,[10] there is no doubt in my mind that the language classroom – or any classroom for that matter - should be organised according to the principles described above.

The learning centred environment develops in its participants – learners and teachers alike - a self-esteem which supports them in the actual learning process as well as when coping with other exigencies of life. It caters for authentic, real life communication.

There is only one little problem to overcome: It is awfully difficult for teachers to stop asking questions that they can answer themselves.

*The two videos plus written material can be ordered from: DPB (The Danish Pedagogic Library), P.O. Box 840, 2400 Copenhagen NV, Denmark.
Price per video exc. postage: 200 d.kr.

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[10] See some of the examples presented by Legenhausen in this volume.

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LINGUISTIC OUTCOMES OF A LEARNER-CENTRED AND MEANING-FOCUSED CLASSROOM

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0. Introductory remarks

Only recently has the discussion on the relationship between meaningful verbal interactions and language acquisition been revived (cf. Wagner 1996, Skehan 1998). Skehan, for example, claims that "instructional activities that emphasize meaning, whether comprehension or production-based, may induce learners to rely on strategies for communication which result in a bypassing of the form of language" (1998: 11). A similar point was made by Ellis (1994:287): "Collaborative discourse construction may remove the need for learners to acquire certain morphological features". It is especially the heavy reliance on group activities exposing learners to a high proportion of ungrammatical input that "may lead perhaps to a stabilized non-target variety" (Pica/Doughty 1985:246). The dangers of fossilization are thought to be particularly great if learners resort to communicative strategies too early, i.e. at the beginning stages of their linguistic development.

The data to be discussed below ties in nicely with this renewed debate, since they derive from a learner-centred classroom

- which is largely based on meaning-focused activities and communicative interactions from the very first days of learning English
- in which no explicit teaching of the language or grammar instruction can be observed
- and which is characterized by an absence of form-focused exercises.

The principles adhered to in this classroom imply that learners largely decide themselves on learning objectives, procedures and materials - in cooperation with the teacher and within the constraints of the official guidelines. This approach thus precludes the systematic coverage of a predefined structural syllabus and use of a coursebook. It lays particular emphasis on the authenticity of social interactions and by implication of the verbal communication. Furthermore, the learners are constantly encouraged to reflect on and assess what they are doing and why they are doing it, thus making awareness-raising a focal concern of the procedures (cf. Dam 1995 and this volume).

The discussion is based on findings from the LAALE project (**L**anguage **A**cquisition in an **A**utonomous **L**earning **E**nvironment) in which the linguistic development of a class of young learners - taught according to the above-mentioned principles of autonomous language learning - was systematically observed over a period of four years. For comparative purposes and in order to facilitate the interpretation of results, identical types of data were elicited from various textbook-based classes in which a mainstream communicative syllabus - with a systematic grammatical progression - was implemented.

The questions to be discussed below include:

- How do the conversational interactions of 'autonomous' learners compare to interactions of 'traditional' learners following a well-defined syllabus? What impact do the learning/teaching approaches have on communicative attitudes and the discourse quality of interactions?
- What accuracy levels do the learners under discussion achieve? Are the misgivings of researchers like Skehan justified that early reliance

on meaning-focused activities detracts from a development of formal features?

1. The learners and the experimental set-up

The class of 'autonomous' learners[1] was a mixed ability group attending a Danish comprehensive school. At the start in the 5th grade, there were altogether ten girls and eleven boys in the class, eight of whom received remedial teaching in mother tongue subjects like Reading/Writing and Maths. We tried to systematically vary the form of data elicitation in order to cover a wide range of language abilities. Table (1, page 66) gives an overview of the test formats used at various stages of the linguistic development of the autonomous learners.

As indicated above, we collected the same data from various traditionally taught classes, although none ot these groups was able to carry out all of the tests. One of the traditional classes taking part in elicitation stages 3 to 5 also came from the same Danish comprehensive school. The C-Tests at stage 5 were, in addition, administered to 129 learners from GermanGrammar School and Comprehensive School classes.

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[1] The inverted commas around 'autonomous' are to indicate that the term does not imply 'learners are autonomous' in the stricter sense of the word. The term is to be interpreted as a short-cut for 'learners taught according to the principles of autonomy and thus working towards more autonomy.' Inverted commas will be left out from now on.

Table 1: Experimental Design

Elicitation Stage	Length of Tuition/ Learning	Form of Elicitation	Language Items/Abilities
1	7,5 weeks (30 lessons)	open questions / spontaneous recall	productive vocabulary
2	15 weeks (60 lessons)	vocabulary test	receptive abilities (auditory / visual recognition); orthography
3	30 weeks	structure test (open & closed questions)	structures: PRO,NEG,Q,SF,EF, etc. / written production
4	1 year/5 months	peer-to-peer talk/ structured interview	oral proficiency
5	3 years	picture story / C-test	writing and reading abilities
6	4 years	peer-to-peer talk / C-test	oral proficiency / writing reading abilities

The focus of the following discussion when comparing data will, however, be on a particular class of traditional learners who attended a German grammar school ('Gymnasium'). They did all the tests up to and including data collection stage 4 (= first round of peer-to-peer talks). This grammar school class was larger in size (N = 31), but they had had five English 45-minute lessons as compared to only four lessons of the Danish group. The methodological principles which the classroom activities were based on have been specified in the official syllabus guidelines for North-Rhine Westphalia and in the teacher's handbook of *Green Line* - the most widely used coursebook at the time of data collection. It also needs to be stressed in this context that the German school system is a selective three-tier system which differentiates between abilities/aptitude at a fairly early stage. This means that only about 40 per cent of the students of each year attend a 'Gymnasium'. These students intend to eventually take A-level examinations, which implies lower-ability students do not go to this school in the first place. In other words, the two groups are not strictly comparable and external measures of comparability are missing, but - apart from the group size - most non-methodological parameters work in favour of the traditional group.

2. Conversational interactions

In order to assess the students' abilities to carry on a conversation between peers, we had pairs of learners talk for about 4-to-5 minutes about a topic of their own choice (cf. elicitation stage 4 after about 18 months of English). With the autonomous group the same type of conversational data was elicited again two-and-a-half years later.[2]

The coursebook used in the German grammar school class tries to prepare the students systematically for these peer-to-peer talks. There is a series of pre-communicative exercises which introduce linguistic structures and phrases thought useful for this kind of situation. The learners are then intended to apply these structures in an activity called *Over to You*, which requires them to engage in a conversation with a partner about their interests and personal situation. By contrast, the autonomous learners are not systematically equipped with pertinent structures to talk about topics of interest to them. However, they are quite familiar with the task, since they fairly regularly do an activity which they call 'two-minute talk'.

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[2] The class of traditional learners had by then ceased to exist as a group, since with the introduction of a second foreign language classes were newly formed.

Even a cursory glance at the transcriptions from the two learner groups makes the qualitative differences between the interactions quite obvious. Both groups of learners often start out with the question 'What shall we talk about'? But then the interactions develop differently. Excerpts in (1) and (2) can be considered as typical examples.

(1) A: What shall we talk about?
B: Let us talk about our family.
A: Ok, ahm, have you got a brother or a sister?
B: Yes, I have a sister.
A: Uh, I haven't got a sister. Ahm, what's her name?
B: Her name is Julia, and she is six years old.
A: And where do you live?
B: I live in Eastvillage, and what about you?
A: I live in Eastvillage, too.
B: What is your telephone number?
A: My telephone number is ahm two two four 'o'. And your telephone number?
B: One five five nine.
A: And what the name of your mother?
B: My mother's name are / is Bärbel Kleine.
A: My mother's name is Magda Mencke. And your father's name?
B: Ludger.
A: And mine is Hermann.[3]

The two Danish learners in the following excerpt (2) had agreed to talk about a school trip to Poland.

(2) H: ... I think it's a good ah house we're going to stay in. And it will be very, very funny (5s)
E: Have you got a letter from Sabine?
H: Yes, I've got one - yesterday, I think, or it was today. I don't remember.
E: I got letter from Alexander and Jacob.
H: Yes? (3s) And that / did they also get my Christmas card for three days ago.
E: Me too.

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[3] All names have been changed.

H: It had t- take one month to send it up here. And the same with the letter. It's a long time. So ahm I don't think we can send a letter for them before we're going down there (1s). It will first come when we have leave their home.
E: I think so, yes (6s). Do you think their family is ah is ah is very friendly?
H: Yes, I have seen a picture of the family and they look very friendly. What about Jacob's?
E: I've never see ah seen them, not in the picture.

The two grammar school students in (1) try to cope with the task by activating textbook phrases without even attempting to cooperatively construct a meaningful discourse. The stereotypical textbook quality of the interactions in the traditional group is brought out by a few statistics:

- In 20 out of 29 pair interactions (= 69%) classmates ask each other what their names are - very often even after having introduced themselves by their names to the experimenter.
- Two questions (*'Have you got a brother or a sister?'; 'Have you got a pet?'*) are asked in 18 out of 29 peer-to-peer talks (= 62%)
- Even wanting to know the partner's telephone number as in (1) occurs in more than one third of all talks.

The ten most frequently asked questions in the interactions all have corresponding models in the textbook, with six out of these questions occurring in one single exercise called 'role play'.[4] These learners do not actually intend to engage in a meaningful conversation. Their interactions seem to be determined by a didactic maxim of the type: "Utter only sentences which you know to be correct English", and this goal is mainly achieved by recalling memorized chunks of textbook phrases (cf. also Legenhausen 1999a).

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[4] Cf. *Green Line*, vol. I, p. 120

The learners' basic strategy for sustaining the interaction is the mirror image or reciprocal question often introduced by *What about you*? . This means that the general interactional structure of the peer-to-peer talks of theses traditional learners shows the following format:

(3) A: Question (=Request for information)
B: Answer - Reciprocal Question
A: Answer - New Question

By contrast, the peer-to-peer talks carried out by the autonomous group are much less predictable and stereotypical.. The learners are prepared to take more risks in the interaction, and as a consequence the speaking turns are often much longer and are characterized by a wider range of interactional moves. They take mutually shared information into account and are genuinely interested in the answers to their information requests. In other words, their interactions share many features with naturally occurring, informal conversations. The peer-to-peer talks of these learners abound with examples in which they collaboratively construct a meaningful discourse. Compare, for example, the following excerpt, in which learner *A* had previously mentioned that she could get special backstage tickets for rock concerts.

(4) A: And what would you do if you were walking in the street and you met
Guns'n Roses?
An: Say 'hi'.
A: Nothing else but 'hi'?
An: No. Can I get an autograph? (3s) What, ahm, would you do if you was meeting them?
A: I don't know. I would, ah, take / have their autographs and, some pictures if I

had a camera with me. And talk with them. (6s)
An: What ehm diffferent does it make if you was backstage on a mhm concert
with Guns'n Roses or with the people? (3s)
A: Ehm, that would be that I met Guns'n Roses.
An: You was / your / you would also met Guns'n Roses if you there with the people, wouldn't you?
A: Yes, but if I get backstage I would talk to them without they were singing and playing.

Even lower-ability students show hearer-supportive behaviour, i.e they signal active listening, complete sentences of their partners, provide linguistic support, and display other signs of genuine responsivity. Conversational exchanges in (5) - (6) with the two weakest learners in the group illustrate this point:

(5) D: What did / what's / should you do today?
L: Today I, ahm, I shall have my birthday.
D: Have you birthday today?
L: Yes.
D: Happy birthday.
L: Thank you. So I should home and, and make / made a cake to my-
D: birthday cake?
L: Cake, yes ...

(6) D: Should you play computer tomorrow?
L: Yes.
D: Ehm, how many sp-
L: <whispers> play
D: play have you; so that is very good?

The qualitative difference between the interactions of the two learner groups can only be interpreted in terms of the two different learning/teaching approaches. Whereas the traditional classroom is characterized by form-focused exercises and 'do-as-if' activities, the attitude of which is also transferred to the peer-to-peer talks, the autonomous classroom tries to get learners involved in authentic social interactions, the basis of which can be seen in the great freedom of choice learners are granted when deciding on activities according to their genuine interests and needs as learners. The importance thus attributed to meaning-based, purposeful activities in the daily classroom allows these learners to develop a communicative competence that compares extremely well with that of more traditionally-taught learners.

Furthermore, with the continuous and constant focus on authentic learner interactions, it does not come as a surprise that their communicative ability improved markedly in the following years. The interactions at the end of the 8th grade, i.e. after four years of English, display more varied strategies for initiating and ending topics, and for sustaining a conversation. This development of communicative abilities can be illustrated by the statistics in the following two tables.

Table (2) calculates the ratio between topic-initiating and topic-continuing moves. The low ratio of 5.9 indicates that topics are dealt with briefly and - as a consequence - topic switches occur frequently. The sharp rise of 5.9 moves per topic to 17.8 within a period of two-and-a-half years shows that the students have learned to stick to a topic much longer, which - in combination with the figures in table (3) - is also an indication that their communicative ability as such has developed markedly.

Table 2: Topic-initiating and topic-continuing moves

	1.5 years of English	4 years of English
	n	n
T-initiating	98	36
T-continuing	581	642
ratio or X **s**	5.9 3.6	17.8 10.7

n: number of occurrences
X: mean
s : variance

Table (3) refers to the linguistic means for introducing new topics. As was already pointed out by Long (1981), the basic strategy in conversational exchanges involving learners is asking a question. By comparison, analyses of interactions between native speakers have yielded a much lower percentage of question formations. The contrast between 91.8 % questions after one-and-a-half years of English and 58.3 % after four years of English thus shows that learners have acquired a much wider range of linguistic means for introducing new topics.

Table 3: Topic introductions

	1.5 years of English		4 years of English	
	n	%	n	%
Questions	90	91.8	21	58.3
Statements	8	8.2	15	41.7

3. Accuracy levels and the development grammatical structures

The crucial issue in a long-standing debate is whether the focus on meaning and the early reliance on authentic interactions in the autonomous classroom lead to a premature stagnation of the grammatical development of learners. Skehan - summarizing Higgs / Clifford's (1982) research results - assumed: "... earlier fluency and vocabulary gains compromised continued development" (1998: 24).

In order to answer these questions two sets of statistics will be discussed below. First, the peer-to-peer talks from both learner groups were analysed in terms of the range of grammatical structures used and in terms of accuracy levels achieved (cf. also Legenhausen 1999b). Second, accuracy figures of certain core structures as identified after one-and-a-half years of English in the autonomous group will then be compared with those after four years of English.

When interpreting the following statistics, the different corpus sizes need to be taken into consideration - especially when comparing absolute frequencies of occurrence. Table (4) gives an overview of number of talks and words.

Table 4: Size of Corpora

Learner Group	Length of Tuition (in years)	Number of Talks	Number of Words
TG	1.5	29	19,000
AG / 1	1.5	20	13,000
AG / 2	4	16	11,000

TG: Traditional group / German Grammar School
AG: Autonomous group / Danish Comprehensive School

3.1 The *do*-support question

The *do*-support question is one of the core structures in the beginning years of English, and judging from the mother tongue regularities in both learner groups, it poses similar learning difficulties. The overall statistics as shown in Table (5) seem to indicate a slight advantage for the traditional class (74 % of well-formed questions as compared to 70 %). However, as was pointed out above, the questions asked were highly stereotypical. Almost two out of three questions (61.5 %) requiring *do*-support in the traditional group were formed with the two verbs *like* and *live*. The two questions *Do you like school? / Where do you live?* occurred, for example, 36 times. These verbs were also used - but less often - by the autonomous group, i.e. in 26.8 % of all cases. If formulaic questions with *like* and *live* are subtracted from the statistics, accuracy levels drop in both groups, however, less markedly for the autonomous group (cf. Table 6).

Table 5: *Do*-support in questions

		-		*	
	Total	n	%	n	%
TG	135	100	74	35	26
AG / 1	142	99	70	43	30
AG / 2	44	44	100	-	-

-: well-formed structures
*: ill-formed (deviant) structures

The total number of *to-do* questions in AG/1 is much lower than in the AG/2 corpus and can mainly be accounted for in terms of different conversational strategies and abilities (cf. above).

Table 6: *do*-support without the verbs *like* and *live*

		÷		*	
	Total	n	%	n	%
TG	52	24	46	28	54
AG / 1	103	65	63	38	35
AG / 2	40	40	100	-	-

The extent to which the Danish mixed ability group managed to acquire the complex *do*-support structure after one and a half years of English (cf. AG /1) compares extremely well with the grammar school class.

The very fact that after four years of English no deviant questions with the *to-do* paraphrase could be observed is a strong piece of evidence against the fossilization hypothesis. This does not imply that deviant *to-do* forms no longer occur at this learning stage. However, this structure can be said to have been mastered by the end of grade 8. This conclusion is supported by data on negated forms. The statistics on negations with *to-do* in the AG/2 corpus contain 66 over-all occurrences, only six of which are ill-formed (9 %). They are basically of the types: *he don't play, I didn't got, I don't be there.*

3.2 Structures With Irregular Verbs

The figures in Table 7 refer to norm-conforming and deviant use of irregular verbs, excluding forms of *to be, to have, to do,* and *to get.* Three irregular forms of verbs used by TG learners had not yet been introduced in the textbook. They were all deviant and have not been included in the statistics of well- and ill-formed structures. When comparing percentages of correct usage between TG and AG/1 it seems obvious that the systematic teaching of irregular morphological forms (with form-focused exercises) does not lead to a significant improvement of their use in communicative situations. By contrast, the high percentage of norm-conforming usage after one and a half years of English (AG/1) and especially after four years (AG/2) in the autonomous group indicates that these forms are quite efficiently acquired or just 'picked up', if learners are given the opportunity to interact meaningfully with one another.

Table 7: Irregular Verb Forms (without *be, have, do, get*)

	Different verbs	÷		*	
		n	%	n	%
TG	13 +3	26	47	29	53
AG/1	17	48	68	23	32
AG/2	19	45	94	3	6

3.3 PRESENT PERFECT

The functional contrast between PRESENT PERFECT and PAST TENSE is one of the major learning difficulties for second language learners. The traditional grammatical syllabus for the *Gymnasium*, therefore, places special emphasis on this phenomenon. However, the learning results of the many exercises devoted to the contrast are not particularly impressive, when judged in terms of the frequency and accuracy with which PRESENT PERFECT forms are used in peer-to-peer talks (cf. Table 8).

Table 8: PRESENT PERFECT

		Well-formed Structures		Ill-formed Structures				
						*[INF/PPART	*[PERF/PAST]	*[PRES; PAST /PERF] etc.
	Total	n	%	n	%	n	n	n
TG	23	0	-	23	100	4	12 (⊃ 9 [Inf/Ppart])	7
AG /1	32	20	63	12	37	5	2	5
AG/2	65	49	75	16	25	0	16	0

The notations in Table 8 call for some explanatory remarks. The notation *[INF/PPART] characterizes structures as in (7), in which an unmarked INFINITIVE is wrongly used instead of a PAST PARTICIPLE:

(7) Ehm, have you buy a present for the boy that you're going to live with?

The notation *[PERF/PAST] refers to contexts in which the PRESENT PERFECT was wrongly used instead of the PAST . In nine out of twelve examples in the TG data the deviant structures additionally lack a PAST PARTICIPLE marker. Cf.

(8) Yesterday ... we have listen ...

The distribution of deviant and non-deviant forms across corpora and learner groups is remarkable in many ways. The peer-to-peer talks of traditional learners contain only four cases in which they tried to - and/or had to - construct a PRESENT PERFECT. Cf.

(9) I play piano one year ago [cf. I have played the piano for one year]

This infrequent occurrence might be interpreted as resulting from an avoidance strategy, which in turn might derive from a general uncertainty as to the formation and function of PRESENT PERFECT forms. Although the functional contrast between PRESENT PERFECT and PAST was one of the last major grammatical topics in the textbook prior to the data collection, it seems remarkable that the traditional group did not manage to produce an acceptable sentence with a PRESENT PERFECT form. It is also noteworthy that the overall frequencies of PRESENT PERFECT structures are surprisingly low in this group. Thus Pienemann's assumption that premature teaching of complex structures might even have detrimental effects on the acquisition process seems to be corroborated by our data (cf. Pienemann 1987). This assumption is further supported by the infrequency of *will*- and *be going to*-forms as discussed below.

In view of the semantic and grammatical complexity of the PRESENT PERFECT, the percentage of correct uses in the AG/1 data is quite astonishing. It should be noted, however, that the majority of correct forms has to be attributed to the more advanced learners of the AG group. The rise in well-formedness figures between AG/1 and AG/2 is mainly due to the fact that after four years of English a greater number of learners used PRESENT PERFECT forms correctly.

3.4 Future time reference

The learners in the autonomous class underwent a significant development with regard to structures referring to events in the future. After one and a half years of English a large proportion of errors can still be attributed to interference from the Danish mother tongue. Deviant *should*-structures of the type in (10), for example, account for 51% of all errors. However, it is only three learners in the AG group who used it in the first round of peer-to-peer talks. Cf.

(10) Should you play computer tomorrow?

The very fact that this form had completely disappeared from the AG/2 corpus can be partly explained in terms of developmental factors. It should, however, also be mentioned that student *D*, who accounted for more than half of the ill-formed structures in AG/1 (31 out of 59), had by the time of the second round of peer-to-peer talks left the school.

Another noteworthy development is the significant decrease of deviant PRESENT TENSE forms for future reference. They constitute 19 percent of all ill-formed future reference structures in the AG/1 corpus. Two and a half years later they can be observed only rarely (f=5).

Furthermore, it becomes obvious from the statistics that informal *gonna*-structures are more difficult for learners to handle than the *be going to*-form. Compare mistakes of the following type:

(11) A: If you not gonna skiing, what do you gonna do there?
B: I would gonna play cards. (AG/1)

For many learners *gonna* is an unanalyzed, opaque marker of future time. Whether or not the decrease in frequency between AG/1 and AG/2 is significant, cannot be decided on the basis of these data alone.

The high frequency of the PROGRESSIVE FORM with future time reference in the AG/2 corpus is largely due to the stereotypical combination with the verb *go*, which is used in 81 percent of all cases. Cf.

(12) I'm going to Spain in the first week of the holidays

Table 9 provides a summary of the statistical distribution of expressions referring to a time interval in the future.

Table 9: Future Time Reference / Autonomous Group

	AG/1					AG/2				
		÷		*			÷		*	
	Total	n	%	n	%	Total	n	%	n	%
be going to	55	40	73	15	27	89	86	97	3	3
gonna	15	8	53	7	47	5	3	-	2	-
will	31	26	84	5	16	40	40	100	0	-
shall	11	6	55	5	45	3	3	-	0	-
PROGRESSIVE F.	15	13	87	2	13	77	76	99	1	1
PRESENT TENSE	23	1	4	22	96	8	3	-	5	-
should	59	0	0	59	100	-	-	-	-	-
Total	209	94	45	115	55	222	211	95	11	5

Again, the above-mentioned distributional characteristics of future time expressions are put into perspective when compared to the way traditional learners handled these forms.

Table 10: Future Time Reference / Traditional Group

	Traditional Group				
		÷		*	
	Total	f	%	f	%
be going to	9	8	89	1	11
will	14	10	71	4	29
shall	2	2		0	
PROGRESSIVE F.	3	2		1	
PRESENT TENSE	58	3	5	55	95
Total	86	25	30	61	70

The coursebook of the Grammar School class includes many exercises in which learners have to practise *will*- and *be going to*-forms. They are even taught the functional differences between these structures. However, as becomes obvious from Table 10, in the majority of all cases future time references are heavily influenced by mother tongue regularities which lead to interference mistakes. Ill-formed PRESENT TENSE forms with future reference, for example, account for nine out of ten mistakes. The low frequencies of *will- and be going to*-forms - as compared to the PRESENT TENSE - can again be interpreted in terms of avoidance as mentioned above in connection with PRESENT PERFECT forms.

Informal *gonna* and *should* with future time reference as in example (10) cannot be observed in the traditional German class, and PROGRESSIVE FORMS with future reference occur only accidentally, because this function had not yet been introduced in the textbook.

4. Concluding Remarks

There can be no doubt that the LAALE-data do not support any of the assumptions quoted in the introductory remarks. Neither are early gains in communicative ability achieved at the expense of the formal development of learners, nor is there any danger of fossilization in the first four years of learning English. These assumptions might be dangers of classrooms which rely on communicative interactions without - at the same time - encouraging and getting learners

- to make the communication process as such a topic of discussion
- to constantly reflect on the language system they are learning
- to become aware of the learning strategies they apply and to improve them.

It is this element of reflexivity and awareness-raising that prevents learners to 'bypass form' and to 'fossilize early', and it is the teacher's responsibility to see to it that awareness-raising becomes a constituent part of the classroom procedures. The communicative interactions need to be accompanied by and to include metalinguistic, metacommunicative and metacognitive processes, thus turning the processes into learning content. This focus on awareness-raising must be regarded as a defining feature of the above-described autonomous classroom, and - together with the notion of authenticity - can explain the remarkable achievements of its learners.

The comparative data from a textbook-based classroom which implements a grammatical syllabus and relies on teaching grammatical forms through form-focused exercises support the sceptical view of many researchers and practitioners that, in general, learners do not learn what they are taught - at least not to the extent envisaged by textbook authors and hoped for by their teachers. The learners must be ready for the acquisition of new linguistic features, and then it is basically the learners themselves who need to integrate new information into their prior knowledge.

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AN OVERVIEW OF THE SECOND LANGUAGE WRITING CLASSROOM

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Imagine walking into a class in second or foreign language writing instruction 100 years ago (if there even were such a class!). Now imagine walking into such a class 100 years from now. What these two situations have in common with our own second and foreign language writing class today is the individual components -- a teacher, students, texts of reading (to represent some kind of input), and texts of writing as produced by these students (output). I state the obvious because what we sometimes forget is that certain components in the writing class situation are fixed, and that what seems to change over time is how we interpret these components as they factor into the dynamics of the relationship among the parts.

When students are at an early stage in their language learning and therefore have a limited range of vocabulary and grammar skills, writing in an L2 is often used as a way to "practice" language. As a result, it is typically judged on a continuum from "excellent" to "poor" based primarily on its sentence-level grammatical and lexical accuracy. However, once students reach an intermediate or advanced level of proficiency in the L2, they are expected to be able to produce sustained prose ("writing") that expresses or creates meaning in ways that approximate the ways that well-formed texts in the target language might. It is this latter meaning of "writing" which I shall be using in my discussion. Such writing should not be construed to require necessarily long or complex texts but texts in which the goal for the writer is to encode his or her meaning and purpose for writing in an appropriate format.

A Natural "Life Cycle"

I would like to make the claim that all writing classes revolve around a kind of natural "life cycle" that is common in all writing courses, regardless of the materials or methods of any particular teacher or institution. The focal point of the life cycle is the writing assignment students will be asked to prepare, and every course will have numerous repetitions of this life cycle.

To begin the cycle, the teacher must have specific or general knowledge of the next targeted writing assignment for the class in order to structure or allow for the creation of activities that will help students prepare to undertake the writing. In some cases, as the cycle gets underway, the teacher might deem it best to withhold details about the assignment from the students; in other cases, the students will be provided a fully detailed assignment sheet at the outset.

In either case, a number of activities should precede the students' drafting of a text, and those activities can take place in or outside the classroom, in or outside the student's school, and be similar or different for the individual students in the class. Some choices for teachers are to have students prepare for the assignment by reading, role playing, engaging in small group or whole class discussions; interviewing classmates, family members or people in the community; conducting text or web-based research; and/or reflecting in writing. If we return to our imaginary classroom of 100 years ago, we can see that a major philosophical shift in today's classroom is that students are not expected, as they might have been then, to begin writing without preparation and guidance. Nor is the only type of assignment one in which they are expected to demonstrate their ability to interpret and/or comment on a text. Non-text derived assignments today might include writing about personal reflections, career opportunities, family stories, results of discussions or interviews, and reactions to films or real world events. One might further imagine that activities preparatory to writing and the range of assignment possibilities will be drawn from an even wider variety 100 years from now.

In cases where the teacher has not informed the students of an exact assignment ahead of time, as the period for drafting approaches, the teacher should provide a written assignment to the class, including an identification of criteria which will be used to evaluate the students' final products. Alternatively, depending on the nature of the students and the goals of the course, some teachers may find it appropriate to negotiate with their students the specific requirements of an assignment that evolves organically out of the class activities that have just been engaged in. Here, too, however, students should be made aware of the criteria which will be used to determine the extent to which their written texts meet the demands of the assignment, even if those criteria are also the result of negotiations between student and teacher. It is not fair to students to award or withhold high scores from texts which exhibit or fail to exhibit identifiable features which writers did not know would factor into a grading scheme.

When these pre-writing or early writing activities have taken place, the student prepares a full draft in response to the assignment. At that point, it is important for teachers to see the students' texts as drafts, subject to revision, and not as final products. This is the second largest distinction between today's class and the class of 100 years ago: students should have a chance to share their writing and to continue to work on it rather than to have their first submitted product be their only product.

Feedback on these drafts should be considered a critical part of the "life cycle" so that students can utilize such feedback to shape their texts in ways that will yield an improved product prior to any evaluative judgment on the relative strengths and weaknesses of the text. Feedback can be direct, and can be provided by the teacher or other students either orally or in writing or in some combination, or it can be indirect. Much in the research on writing classes focuses on the various ways in which peers can be trained to work together to discuss each other's writing productively. Even when students might initially resist the idea that, as novices, they can contribute to improving the quality of texts other novices produce, peer work can contribute *indirectly* to writing improvement through providing students an opportunity to re-consider their own work through the eyes of others. Such indirect feedback should not be discounted, and it can also be provided by arranging for students to see additional examples of texts that were not part of the preparatory writing phase. These texts could either model the type of finished product the students are expected to produce or could supply information and ideas which could contribute to a more solid presentation of the content area of their own texts. Additional indirect feedback could take the form of class exercises which allow students to practice the rhetorical or linguistic skills appropriate to the writing assignment they have prepared and provide them with an opportunity, for example, to return to their working drafts with a new sense of the use of certain transition markers, the nature of evidence, or the finer distinctions between the use of past tense and the present perfect. Nor should teachers overlook the fact that while they have seen numerous examples of student texts, many students have never seen the type of writing their classmates produce, and this too can prove a very instructive experience for them.

Depending on a variety of factors, the draft and feedback cycle may be repeated. This would allow the student writers to revise their work and have an additional round (or rounds) of feedback or learning activities before creating a text that would be considered the "final" draft or finished product. Eventually, however, it is best to require the writers to submit their work for evaluation. (Even the most professional of writers do not always consider their work "finished," but find themselves needing to let go of it because of deadlines or other "real world" considerations.)

In the next phase of the "life cycle," after the sharing and feedback stage(s) have passed, the students prepare a polished and edited draft which will be evaluated or marked according to the criteria outlined with the assignment. Even in the most enlightened of institutions, there is little likelihood that anyone other than a teacher will interpret and apply the grading standards to the student's written text. The purpose of feedback provided to students at that point in the writing process should ideally be not only to offer a judgment on the totality of the written product but also to provide the writers advice or guidance that can contribute to continuing growth in their writing proficiency as they move on to create new texts.

Many writing programs set up an end-of-term portfolio evaluation system which require students to submit a subset of their work as a way to catalog their strengths and/or progress over time. In portfolio grading systems, student writers are often given the chance to revise their previously "graded" work repeatedly until the deadline for submitting the portfolio arrives.

When the teacher believes that no additional learning can be gleaned from the students' working on that assignment any longer, it is time for the next instance of the "life cycle" to unfold. Sometimes, the life cycles overlap, with final drafts being prepared even as activities begin which lead the students into the work that will contribute to a different writing assignment not yet begun. And this is the life of the writing course.

Students at the Center

It is the writing teacher's job to balance the curriculum goals of the program in which the writing course is situated with the real students that occupy the seats in the classroom. If the danger in the foreign language setting has been to limit writing classes to the focused practice of linguistic skills alone, the danger in the native language setting has been to turn writing classes into arenas where the agenda becomes anything from self-awareness to the content area of the readings, which were originally intended to stimulate discussion and to analyze writers' rhetorical strategies. But the true center and the true goal of all writing courses should be the student's own writing.

As is evidenced from the framework presented in this discussion, the teaching of writing today seems to be a very student-focused enterprise. This is certainly true for English language writing courses designed for native speakers of English as well as for learners of English. Probably this was not so true 100 years ago. But today, teachers believe that the main goal of a writing course is to help students become more proficient in their ability to create texts in the target language that best accomplish the goals of that particular piece of writing.

Despite teachers' intentions and their focus on the needs of their students, many students are less than successful at the goal of producing texts that demonstrate full control over the linguistic, stylistic, and rhetorical features appropriate to their general level of language proficiency and the inherent aims of the text at issue. The texts that students produce may be flawed in any one of a number of ways that are identifiable as problematic:

- the writing might lack coherence so that a reader cannot deduce the writer's intent
- there might be a lack of substance or content, revealing that the writer has little or nothing to say about the topic at hand
- there may be a lack of evidence for claims made or the evidence provided may be unconvincing or even erroneous

- there may be multiple problems in such language features as grammar, word choice, sentence construction

We must not let these potential problems, however, dissuade us from our mission, which is to assist students to become better writers, to the full extent of their capabilities. While the methods and materials may differ over time as our understanding of teaching and learning changes and expands, the components of teachers, writers and texts will remain fixed.

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A NEW MODEL OF THE WRITING PROCESS

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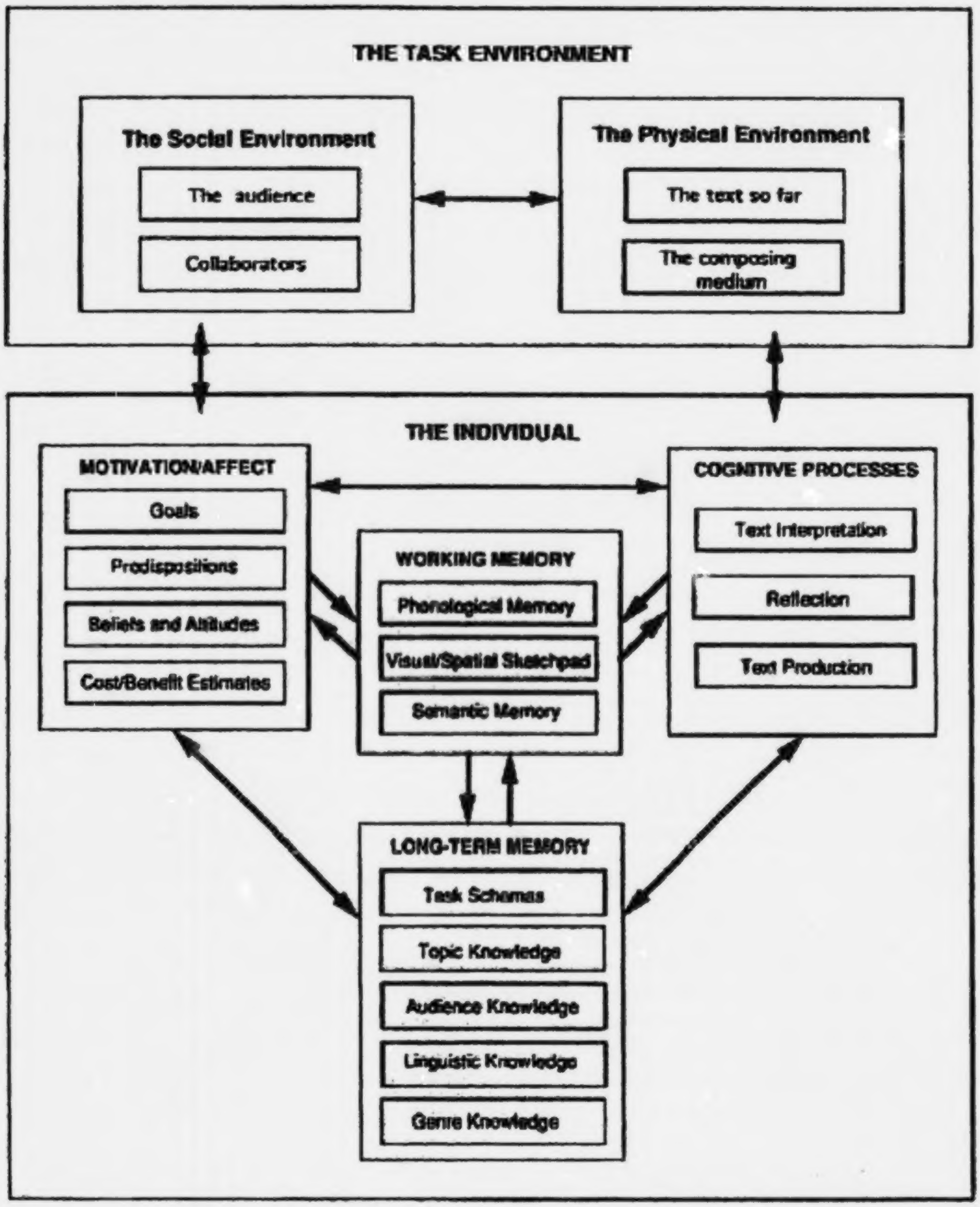
In this article, I provide a brief overview of a new writing model that I have described in greater detail elsewhere (Hayes, 1996). My purpose in creating the new model was to provide a more accurate and encompassing description of current empirical findings than was possible with the Hayes-Flower model of 1980 (Hayes & Flower, 1980).

General Organization of the New Model

Figure 1 shows the general organization of the new model. This model has two major components: the *task environment* and the *individual.* The task environment consists of the social environment, which includes the audience, and collaborators, that is, other texts and individuals that the writer may consult while writing, and the physical environment, which includes the text that the writer has produced so far and a writing medium such as a word processor. The individual includes *motivation and affect*, *cognitive processes, working memory*, and *long term memory.*

In the new model, I have grouped cognition, affect, and memory together as aspects of the individual; I depict the social and physical environments together as constituting the task environment. Thus, rather than a social-cognitive model, the new model could be described as an individual-environmental model.


THE TASK ENVIRONMENT
The Social Environment
The audience
Collaborators
The Physical Environment
The text so far
The composing medium
THE INDIVIDUAL
MOTIVATION/AFFECT
Goals
Predispositions
Beliefs and Attitudes
Cost/Benefit Estimates
WORKING MEMORY
Phonological Memory
Visual/Spatial Sketchpad
Semantic Memory
COGNITIVE PROCESSES
Text Interpretation
Reflection
Text Production
LONG-TERM MEMORY
Task Schemas
Topic Knowledge
Audience Knowledge
Linguistic Knowledge
Genre Knowledge

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The major differences between the new model and the old are four: First, and most important, I have emphasized the central role of working memory in writing. Second, I have included visual/spatial representations as well as linguistic ones. Third, I have reserved a significant place for motivation and affect in the framework. Finally, the cognitive process section of the model has undergone a major reorganization. Revision has been replaced by text interpretation; planning has been subsumed under the more general category, reflection; translation has been subsumed under a more general text production process.

The Task Environment

The Social Environment

Writing is primarily a social activity. We write mostly to communicate with other humans. But writing is social not just because of its communicative purpose. It is also social because it is a social artifact and it is carried out in a social setting. What we write, how we write, and whom we write to is shaped by social convention and by our history of social interaction. The genres in which we write were invented by other writers and the phrases we write often reflect phrases earlier writers have written. Thus, our culture provides the words, images, and forms from which we fashion text.

The Physical Environment

In the 1980 model, we noted that a very important part of the task environment is the text the writer has produced so far. During the composition of any but the shortest passages, writers will reread what they have written apparently to help shape what they write next.

Variations in the composing medium often lead to changes in the ease of accessing some of the processes that support writing. For example, on the one hand, when we are writing with a word processor, including crude sketches in the text or drawing arrows from one part of the text to another is more difficult than it would be if we were writing with pencil and paper. On the other hand, word processors make it much easier to move blocks of text from one place to another, or experiment with fonts and check spelling. The point is not that one medium is better than another, although perhaps such a case could be made, but rather that writing processes are influenced, and sometimes strongly influenced, by the writing medium itself.

The Individual

Below, I will discuss the components of the model that I have represented as aspects of the individual writer: working memory, motivation and affect, cognitive processes, and long term memory.

Working Memory

In the present model, all of the processes are assumed to have access to working memory and to carry out all non-automated activities in working memory. The central location of working memory in Figure 3 is intended to symbolize its central importance in the activity of writing. To describe working memory in writing, I have drawn heavily on Baddeley's (1986) general model of working memory. In Baddeley's model, working memory is a limited resource that is drawn on both for storing information and for carrying out cognitive processes. Structurally, working memory consists of a central executive together with two specialized memories: a "phonological loop" and a visual/spatial "sketchpad". The phonological loop stores phonologically coded information and the sketchpad stores visually or spatially coded information.

Motivation

In the new model, I identify three ways in which writing is influenced by motivation.

- *Long-term predispositions.* Finn and Cox (1992) found that teachers' ratings of fourth-grade students for engagement in educational activities correlated strongly with the achievement scores of those students in the first three grades. Hayes, Schriver, Hill, and Hatch (1990) found that students who had been admitted to college as "basic" writers engaged much less in a computer-based activity designed to improve their writing skills than did "average" and "honors" students.

2. *Interaction among goals.* Writers typically have more than one goal when they write (Flower & Hayes, 1980). For example, they may want both to convey content and also to create a good impression of themselves, or they may want to satisfy a first audience but not offend a second.

3. *Choice among methods.* Even for situations in which the goals are specified, motivational factors can additionally influence action by influencing the selection of the strategy to meet the goal. Easier strategies tend to be chosen over more difficult ones. Thus, motivation may be seen as shaping the course of action through a kind of cost-benefit mechanism. Even when

the overall goal of an activity is fixed, individuals will select the means that, in the current environment, is least costly or least likely to lead to error.

Cognitive Processes

In this model, I propose that the primary cognitive functions involved in writing are

- Text Interpretation,
- Reflection, and
- Text Production.

Text interpretation is a function that creates internal representations from linguistic and graphic inputs. Cognitive processes that accomplish this function include reading, listening, and scanning graphics. *Reflection* is an activity that operates on internal representations to produce other internal representations. Cognitive processes that accomplish reflection include problem solving, decision making, and inferencing. *Text Production* is a function that takes internal representations in the context of the task environment and produces written, spoken, or graphic output.

Text interpretation

Reading to evaluate the text is a central component of revision. Poor text evaluation skills, such as Hayes et al. (1987) report, must surely lead to poor revisions. In addition to reading to evaluate, two other kinds of reading play important roles in writing: *reading source texts* and *reading to define tasks.*

Reading source texts. Usually, we think of source texts as providing writers with content, that is, with topic information that any competent reader would infer from the source text. However, if writers are not competent readers, if they oversimplify or misunderstand the source texts, their own texts that interpret or summarize those source texts are likely to suffer. For example, Zasloff (1984) studied a group of student writers who were asked to summarize an essay that had the form "Others hold Position A but I hold Position B." Some of the students misread the essay to mean that the author held Position A. As a result, these students received very poor grades for their written summaries.

However, we should not think of the reading of source texts simply as an activity that provides readers with topic knowledge. Readers may form at least three different representations when they read:

- a representation of the topic discussed
- a representation of the writer's persona
- a representation of the text as a spatial display

Reading to understand the task. Reading to understand the writing task is another important function that reading serves for the writer. It is a specialized reading genre that shapes writers' interpretation of writing tasks in school and at work. Success in carrying out this activity in school seems to depend on skill in interpreting terms such as "describe," "argue," and "interpret." In many school writing tasks, a text is judged inadequate because the writer has done the wrong task. For example, when assigned to analyze an article, students often respond by summarizing it.

Reading, then, takes on a central role in the new model. It is seen as contributing to writing performance in three distinct ways: reading for comprehension, reading to define the writing task, and reading to revise. The quality of writers' texts often depends on their ability to read in these three ways.

Reflection

In the 1980 model, planning was the only reflective process that was explicitly included in that model. Since that time, consideration of the available data has convinced me that the following reflective processes should be included in the model:

- Problem solving (including planning)
- Decision making
- Inferencing

Problem solving. In writing, problem solving constitutes a substantial part of any but the most routine composing activities. It may take the form of chaining together a sequence of phrases to form a sentence or of claims to form an argument. It may involve constructing a graph to make a point or it may involve creating a plan for an essay or a book.

Decision Making. People engage in decision making when they evaluate alternatives to chose among them. Like problem solving, decision making is also an important component of all but the most routine writing tasks. Many writing tasks are ill-defined problems, that is, they are problems that can't be solved unless the writer makes a number of *gap-filling* decisions (Reitman; 1964). For example, if students are asked to write an essay on a controversial topic, they will have to make decisions about what perspective to take, what sources to read, what points to emphasize, how to order those points, how to deal with conflicting views and so on. In fact, the writers have so many gap-filling decisions to make in writing such an essay that if two students were to submit the same essay, there would be a strong presumption of plagiarism.

Inferencing. By inferencing, I understand a process by which new information is derived from old. It may be goal directed or not and it may be conscious or unconscious. Inferencing is important in both reading and writing. For example, as Braddock (1974) pointed out, readers often infer the main point of a paragraph when that point is not explicitly stated in the text. Clearly, inferencing is an important process that allows readers and writers to make useful extensions of available information.

Text Production

Text production is obviously a process of central importance in writing. Unfortunately, it is too complex a topic to be covered adequately in a brief article. The interested reader should consult the original article (Hayes, 1996) or more recent work (Chenoweth and Hayes, forthcoming).

Summary

The new writing framework I have presented here is intended to provide a more accurate and more comprehensive description of available observation than was provided by the Hayes-Flower model of 1980. The major changes in focus in the new framework are:

- greater attention to the role of working memory in writing,
- inclusion of the visual/spatial dimension,

- the integration of motivation and affect with the cognitive processes, and
- a reorganization of the cognitive processes which places greater emphasis on the function of text interpretation processes in writing.

In addition, although not described here, the new framework includes new and more specific models of planning, text production, and revision and proposes a number of testable hypotheses about writing processes.

I hope that the new framework will indeed provide a clearer and more comprehensive description of writing processes than did the earlier model. However, it will have served its function if it stimulates new research and discussion.

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TOSPROGET UDVIKLING OG DANSK SOM ANDETSPROG
NOGLE RESULTATER FRA KØGE-PROJEKTET

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Indledning

Denne artikel fremdrager nogle aspekter vedrørende tosprogethed og dansk som andetsprog, som er fremstået af et empirisk arbejde med tyrkisk-danske skoleelevers sproglige udvikling. I artiklen gennemgår vi først projektet, som vores data hidrører fra. Derefter behandler vi det andetsproglige aspekt ved udvikling af dansk hos eleverne i løbet af deres skoleår. Vi fremlægger en række forskellige måder at registrere deres danskudvikling på, og konkluderer, at målene næsten alle når frem til samme konklusion vedrørende kvaliteten af det danske andetsprog. I næste del diskuterer vi beskrivelsen af elevernes tosprogethed ud fra analyser af deres tosprogede sprogbrug. Til dette får vi brug for nogle af vores konklusioner om kvaliteten af elevernes danske andetsprog. Vi finder ud fra vores analyser af den tosprogede praksis hos eleverne, at modeller med et integreret tosprogethedssyn bedre beskriver disse elevers tosprogethed end modeller, der separerer sprogene. Artiklen er en sammenskrivning og udvidelse af vores bidrag til Møller m.fl. 1998.

1. Om Køge-projektet

Køge-projektet er en længdeundersøgelse af tosprogede børns sproglige udvikling. Projektet blev indledt med en toårig pilotfase fra 1987 til 1989, hvorefter den egentlige dataindsamling fandt sted mellem 1989 og 1998. I disse år har vi fulgt en kohorte af tosprogede dansk- og tyrkisktalende elever, nemlig skolebegynderne fra skoleåret 1989-90 (se Jørgensen m.fl. 1991, Gimbel m.fl. 1996). Vores formål har været at følge og beskrive de tyrkisk-danske børns tosprogede udvikling, herunder deres udvikling af dansk som andetsprog. Projektet har tre aspekter, et pædagogisk, et andetsprogligt og endelig et tosprogethedsaspekt.

Det pædagogiske aspekt

For det første interesserer vi os for børnenes skolegang, og undervisning. Vi har indsamlet spørgeskemaer blandt elevernes lærere (dansklærere og modersmålslærere), og Jørgen Gimbel har interviewet deres klasselærere og foretaget klasseværelsesiagttagelser i deres indskolingsklasser (Gimbel 1994). Desuden har vi i forbindelse med et nordisk fællesprojekt (Boyd m.fl. 1994a,b) gennemført en interviewundersøgelse blandt forældrene. Denne undersøgelse omfattede først og fremmest emner vedrørende de pågældende elever, deres sprogbrug og sproglige udvikling samt deres skolegang, men den omfattede også spørgsmål om forældrenes holdninger og egen sproglige praksis over for børnene og i hjemmet i almindelighed. I forlængelse af Køge-projektet har Mediha Can gennemført en undersøgelse af fritidsforbrug og holdninger til fritid blandt tosprogede tyrkisk-danske unge i Køge (Can 1995). Elevernes resultater ved folkeskolens afsluttende prøver og deres årskarakterer indgår også som data.

Det andetsproglige aspekt

Vi har hvert år indsamlet sproglige data fra eleverne, efter det tredje år dog begrænset til eleverne på den af skolerne, der havde flest tosprogede elever. Disse indsamlinger omfatter for hvert barn en samtale med en tyrkisktalende voksen, en samtale med en dansktalende voksen, en gruppesamtale mellem tosprogede dansk- og tyrkisktalende elever og en samtale i en gruppe af både etsprogede dansktalende og tosprogede dansk- og tyrkisktalende elever (Laursen 1992, Holmen 1993a, 1995, Holmen & Jørgensen 1996, Quist 1998). Pia Quist har udvalgt et kort uddrag af hver af de unges samtaler med en voksen dansktalende (8. klasse) og spillet dem for et panel af unge og voksne indfødte dansktalende med henblik på en vurdering af talefærdigheden hos de unge tosprogede (Quist 1998).

Foruden de faste årlige indsamlinger har vi ved to lejligheder gennemført en forståelsesprøve (ved hjælp af uni-set-ark, se Jørgensen & Holmen 1995, Can m.fl. 1999). Ved en lejlighed har Kristjánsdóttir indsamlet læseprøver blandt nogle af disse elever (Jørgensen & Kristjánsdóttir 1998), og i forbindelse med et ordforrådsprojekt har Jørgen Gimbel og Mediha Can gennemført en prøve blandt de tosprogede elever (Gimbel 1995). Et år gennemførte vi en cloze-prøve, ledsaget af en fri skriftlig fremstilling, på hvert af elevernes to sprog. Den danske cloze-prøve blev også besvaret af de etsprogede elever i klasserne.

Tosprogethedsaspektet

De mange sproglige data fra samtalerne benytter vi selvfølgelig også som baggrund for studier i elevernes tosprogede udvikling (se fx Andersen 1994, Jørgensen 1993, 1997a, 1998, Holmen & Jørgensen 1997). Til belysning af den tosprogede udvikling og dens rolle for identitetsopfattelsen blandt de unge gennemførte Rikke Byrjalsen, Janus Møller og Pia Quist endvidere en særlig undersøgelse med inddragelse af gruppeinterview blandt de unge på 8. klassetrin i 1997 (Quist 1998, Maegaard & Quist 1999, Byrjalsen m.fl. 1999, Møller m.fl. 1998)

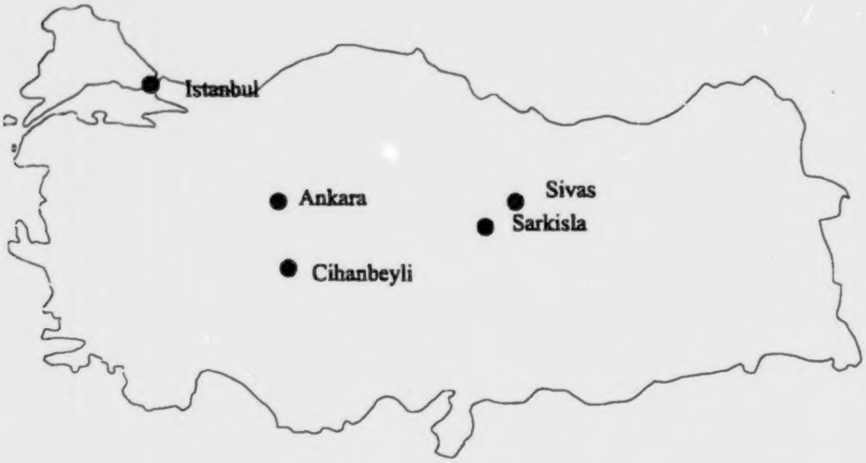
Klasse	Sprogligt		Sociolingvistisk	Pædagogisk
1	Gruppesamtaler, tosprogede og blandede voksensamtaler på dansk og på tyrkisk		Forældresamtale	Dagbøger og spørgeskemaer fra lærere
2		Lytteforståelse		
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8		Vurdering hos indfødte	Gruppeinterview	
9		Skriftligt materiale		Afgangsprøver

Tabel 1. Oversigt over data fra Køge-projektet 1989-1998.

2. Tyrkisktalende børn i Køge

I Køge er de tyrkisktalende tyrker den eneste store gruppe af indvandrere, i 1991 - i forbindelse med vores nordiske undersøgelse (Boyd m.fl. 1994a,b) - fandt vi, at der var 935 tyrkiske statsborgere i Køge kommune. Hertil kommer naturligvis et mindre antal naturaliserede statsborgere. Indvandringen ser imidlertid ud til at være tilendebragt med familiesammenføringen ca. 1985. Hovedparten af de tyrkisktalende forældre til børnene i vores undersøgelse er rejst til Danmark fra området mellem Kayseri og Sivas, især fra landsbyer omkring provinsbyen Sarkısla, nogle er kommet fra Usak-området, og nogle få er enkeltindvandret forskellige andre steder fra. Af forældrene angiver næsten alle at være fra landet eller en mindre by. Alle er muslimer.

Mange tyrkisktalende borgere i Køge bor i Ellemarken, en del også i Karlemosen, to yngre sociale boligbyggerier af relativt høj standard. Nogle få andre bor spredt rundt omkring i den øvrige del af kommunen (Can 1995). I Køge går de tyrkisktalende børn især i de to distriktsskoler ved boligområderne. Derudover er nogle få børn spredt på andre skoler i kommunen. På den ene skole er tyrkiskundervisningen en integreret del af elevernes skolegang, med timerne skemalagt som for andre fag, med lærere som også har andre funktioner osv. Det samme gælder for de tre yngste klasser på den anden skole, men for de øvrige tyrkiske børn i byen finder modersmålsundervisningen sted uden for det almindelige skema, næsten altid på en anden skole og altid med andre lærere. Alle eleverne i vores undersøgelse har modtaget tyrkisk-undervisning, men altså i forskelligt omfang og med forskellig status. De tyrkisktalende børn i Køge-projektet er for de fleste vedkommende født i Danmark (se Jørgensen & Holmen 1994).



Figur 1. Kort over Tyrkiet med angivelse af de områder, hvorfra en stor del af indvandrerne til Danmark stammer. Endvidere er angivet de største byer (efter Jørgensen & Holmen 1994).

Indvandringen fra Tyrkiet til Køge har i høj grad været en kædeindvandring: mændene, som var de første, der kom til Køge, flyttede op til andre tyrker, som kunne give dem hjælp og oplysninger om arbejdspladser og boliger samt ikke mindst et netværk af kontakter. Samtidig har gruppen af tyrkisktalende borgere i Køge bevaret kontakten til Tyrkiet og landsbyerne der, som mange oplyser at besøge hver eller hver anden sommer. Familiernes struktur er ensartet, der er stort set tale om kernefamilier med to tyrkiske forældre og et antal børn til disse forældre. Der er i alt kun to tre-generationsfamilier, og tilsyneladende bor der ingen steder andre voksne (børnenes onkler eller tanter) i samme lejlighed som den interviewede. Selv med en dansk målestok er husstandene forholdsvis små, gennemsnitligt fem personer. En enkelt familie har syv hjemmeboende børn, men langt de fleste kun 2-3. Beskæftigelsen er for de fleste forældres vedkommende først og fremmest ufaglært arbejde på fabrik eller med rengøring. Adskillige er arbejdsløse. Én er beskæftiget med funktionærarbejde. I løbet af vores undersøgelse er en del af forældrene gået i gang som selvstændige erhvervsdrivende, typisk med små detailhandels-butikker. Over halvdelen af forældrene har den obligatoriske (dengang femårige) skolegang i *ilkokul* bag sig, og kun et fåtal har mere, fx den treårige *ortaokul* herudover.

I denne artikel gennemgår vi først og fremmest data fra gruppesamtalerne og fra de årlige samtaler mellem eleverne og en dansktalende voksen. Samtalerne gør det muligt at følge de unges sproglige udvikling gennem det meste af deres skolegang. Af de oprindelige tyrkisktalende elever i Køges skoler er der 10, der har medvirket hele vejen igennem. I gennemgangen og datafremlæggelsen har eleverne fiktive navne. Drengene hedder: Murat, Bekir, Erol og Hüseyin. Pigerne hedder: Selma, Merva, Canan, Esen, Eda og Asiye. Alle er født 1982-83 i tyrkisksprogede familier med tyrkisk baggrund, de fleste i Danmark.

Bortset fra Eda, som flyttede til Danmark som 8-årig, har alle haft hele deres skolegang på en af folkeskolerne i Køge. De har alle modtaget modersmålsundervisning i tyrkisk, de fleste indtil 7. klasse. Disse unge mennesker er de hyppigst citerede her i artiklen, og i arbejderne om Køge-projektet i det hele taget, men der indgår naturligvis også adskillige andre, herunder etsprogede klassekammerater.

Udførlige teksteksempler (med oversættelse til engelsk af både danske og tyrkiske ytringer) foreligger i Turan 1999.

3. Gruppesamtaler

I første omgang optog vi gruppesamtaler mellem tosprogede børn og enkelte samtaler mellem danske børn til sammenligning. I 2. klasse og igen i 4. klasse og herefter hvert år optog vi de tosprogede børn i to gruppesamtaler hver. Én samtale fandt sted i blandet gruppe, principielt halvt af etsproget danske, halvt af tosproget dansk-tyrkiske børn. Den anden samtale fandt sted i en rent tosproget gruppe. Vi tilstræbte, at alle grupper var på fire elever, men en gang imellem var der kun tre deltagere i en gruppe. Dette problem er naturligvis alvorligst for de blandede gruppers vedkommende, men her også lettere at komme om ved, fordi der jo var flere elever at tage af. Enkelte gange har tosprogede elever derfor deltaget i to blandede gruppesamtaler.

Hvert år fandt samtalerne sted i løbet af en periode på én til to uger, fortrinsvis i oktober eller november måned. Ingen elev deltog i to samtaler på samme dag, men emnerne for gruppearbejderne i de blandede og i de rent tosprogede grupper har i nogle tilfælde haft samme overskrift, og var enkelte gange helt de samme. Kun i 9. klasse blev der givet to forskellige opgaver til de to typer af grupper.

Ved gruppearbejdets begyndelse lagde vi det nødvendige materiale, fx limstifter og sakse, parat til eleverne. Der var én saks færre og én limstift færre end antallet af elever i gruppen, således at de måtte skiftes til at bruge materialet. Eleverne fik ingen anvisninger på valg af sprog. Det var på forhånd besluttet, at hvis de spurgte, hvilket sprog de skulle tale, ville de få beskeden *det finder I selv ud af*. Instruktionen har i øvrigt altid været givet på dansk, men mindst med indfletning af enkelte tyrkiske sætninger (fx *anlıyor musunuz?*, har I forstået det?), og fra 5. klasse også med instruktion på tyrkisk, altså således at instruktioner blev givet enten både på dansk og tyrkisk eller på en blanding af dansk og tyrkisk. Hver gruppesamtale varede en lille lektions tid, dvs. ca. 40 minutter. De enkelte år gav vi så vidt muligt opgaver, der kunne forstås i sammenhæng med det, eleverne i øvrigt beskæftigede sig med, og i hvert fald forskellige opgaver fra det ene år til det andet:

1. klasse: Eleverne fik til opgave at møblere et hus. Dvs de skulle blive enige om at vælge møbler fra møbelkataloger (som der var udleveret rigeligt af) og klippe dem ud. Herefter skulle de ved hjælp af en limstift klistre dem på et stort stykke stift karton (A1), som var forsynet med en tegning af et (stiliseret) hus, hvor den ene væg var skrællet af som på en arkitekttegning. I forvejen skulle eleverne da blive enige om, hvilken funktion hvert rum havde.

2. klasse: Eleverne fik udleveret varehuskataloger, limstifter og sakse som i 1. klasse. På samme type kartonark, som blev benyttet i 1. klasse, var der sat tegninger af en kernefamilie med fire børn. Opgaven var nu at ekvipere denne familie til en sommerferie i Tyrkiet. Eleverne skulle blive enige om valget af tøj osv, og derefter klippe de valgte genstande ud fra katalogerne og lime dem på arket.

3. klasse: Eleverne fik som de foregående år udleveret sakse og limstifter. Hertil kom rejsekataloger og kartonark (denne gang uden noget på). Opgaven var at bygge en by, dvs finde billeder af de veje, anlæg, huse osv, som eleverne anså for at høre til en by, og derefter klistre dem på kartonarket.

4. klasse: Eleverne fik udleveret atlas (der blev lagt ét atlas frem, og der lå ét til på bordet ved siden af). Derudover blev der udleveret filtpenne, skrivetape og en kartonplade med et kort. De blandede grupper og de danske grupper fik et kort over Danmark, de rent tosprogede grupper fik et kort over Tyrkiet. Opgaven var nu at finde frem til vigtige stednavne (principielt i enighed), især bynavne, på atlasset og derefter anføre dem på det store kort på kartonpladen..

5. klasse: Eleverne fik udleveret rejsekataloger, limstifter og en kartonplade med et stort verdenskort. Opgaven var at identificere nogle af de steder, der var billeder fra i rejsekatalogerne, og at lokalisere dem på verdenskortet. Herefter skulle eleverne vælge nogle billeder fra katalogerne, således at de kom rundt i verden. Billederne skulle eleverne klippe ud, for at de kunne sætte dem på verdenskortet og notere stednavnet (det lokale eller det mindre lokale: *Kuşadası* var en løsning såvel som *Kina*).

6. klasse: Eleverne fik udleveret fem spande med LEGO-klodser (produkt nummer 1885), og de fik til opgave at bygge et kunstværk. De måtte selv forestille sig ét og bygge det, eller de måtte bygge ét, de kendte. Efter samtalen blev alle værker fotograferet.

7. klasse: Eleverne fik udleveret en blok med ler beregnet til formningsundervisning. De fik til opgave at udforme en skulptur [heykeltıraş], da det lå i forlængelse af et projekt med skulpturer, som de kort tid inden havde arbejdet med i undervisningen. Nogle af eleverne (enkelte af drengene i rene drengegrupper) benyttede lejligheden til at rulle kugler af leret og kaste dem rundt i lokalet, eller ligefrem på hinanden.

8. klasse: Opgaven gik dette år ud på at fremstille en billedserie eller en collage på et stort udleveret tykt kartonark ved hjælp af billeder fra ugeblade eller postkort (go-card postkort). Emnet var "Ung i Køge". Der var også saks og lim til rådighed samt filtpenne til at supplere billederne med.

9. klasse: Eleverne fik udleveret go-card postkort (i hundredevis) samt filtpenne, lim og sakse samt et stort tykt kartonark (størrelse A1). På kartonarket skulle de forme en billedserie eller en collage over emnet "En kedelig dag i Køge" (blandede grupper af etsprogede og tosprogede elever) eller "Mit værste mareridt" (grupper af tosprogede elever).

4. Tovejssamtaler

Gruppesamtaler er karakteristiske ved at blive gennemført i højt taletempo, med mange afbrydelser, mere end én der taler, råben osv. Meningen med tovejssamtalerne mellem en voksen og en af vores elever var derfor at give eleverne tid og plads til at udtrykke sig, således at vi fx kunne følge deres udvikling af syntaks, morfologi, udtryksfærdighed osv. uden samtidig at skulle tage højde for deres personlige færdigheder i at gøre sig gældende og sætte sig igennem i gruppesamtaler.

Projektmedarbejderne, der stod for disse samtaler, havde nogle indholdspunkter som oplæg til samtalerne, men efter første år ingen præ-formulerede spørgsmål. Samtidig var deres vigtigste rolle at få børnene til at tale frit og afslappet, og børnene måtte meget gerne have indflydelse på samtalens udvikling. Vi har haft forskellige medarbejdere til at varetage tovejs-samtalerne. Det første år var det elevernes lærere, der foretog dem. De danske samtaler stod klasselærerne for, de tyrkiske stod elevernes lærer i tyrkisk for. Fra andet år overgik opgaven til projektmedarbejdere, der i flere tilfælde blev ansat med indsamlingen af disse samtaler som formål. Fra og med fjerde år stod Mediha Can for indsamlingen af samtalerne på tyrkisk, mens samtalerne på dansk har været ført af forskellige projektmedarbejdere. Emnerne for disse samtaler mellem på den ene side de voksne projektmedarbejdere, henholdsvis tyrkisktalende og dansktalende, og på den anden side eleverne var som følger:

Første år: Eleverne så afsnit af en videofilm sammen med læreren, på tyrkisk Ana Kucagı, på dansk Busters Verden, hvorefter læreren stillede spørgsmål til filmen. Disse spørgsmål faldt i tre grupper. For det første bad læreren eleven om at referere begivenhederne i filmen. Formålet var for os at få indblik i elevernes færdigheder i at gengive og referere. For det andet spurgte læreren til, hvad der kunne tænkes at ske senere i filmen. Formålet hermed var at se på, om eleverne kunne bruge sproget til at fabulere, opstille muligheder osv. For det tredje bad læreren om elevernes bemærkninger til nogle af de øgenavne, filmens personer brugte om hinanden. Formålet var her for os at få indblik i elevernes sproglige bevidsthed, eller måske mere præcist: deres færdighed i at udtrykke sig om sprogbrug. Den nærmere anvisning til lærerne fremgår af Arbejdspapirer 7-8 (1990).

Andet år: Eleverne så her sammen med en projektmedarbejder (dette år to pædagoger) afsnit fra en videofilm, på tyrkisk Çocuklar Çiçektir, på dansk Robinson på taget. Anvisningerne til den voksne samtaledeltager var dette år mere uspecifikke, idet de generelle overskrifter (referat, fabulering, sproglig bevidsthed) blev fastholdt, men ikke udspecificeret i spørgsmål.

Tredje år: Eleverne så denne gang filmuddragene sammen med projektmedarbejdere (bl.a. studentermedarbejdere). På tyrkisk var det en Saban-film med komiske episoder, på dansk var det Lille Virgil og Orla Frøsnapper, hvorfra der også blev udvalgt komiske episoder. Vejledningen til projektmedarbejderne var den samme, mere løse, som andet år.

Fjerde år: På dansk var udgangspunktet en oversættelse af de tyrkiske Kelolan-historier, som eleverne havde fået læst op i klassen. Herudfra udspandt sig en samtale om læsning, om skolen og meget andet. Der var ikke nogen ensretning af planlægningen af samtalerne. På tyrkisk var udgangspunktet et billede med et portræt af et barn i midten og med portrætter af forskellige familiemedlemmer og kammerater rundt om. Formålet med dette udgangspunkt var, at eleven skulle navngive sin omgangskreds (familie, venner, kammerater osv) og derefter angive, hvilket eller hvilke sprog han eller hun brugte i samtale med de pågældende. Derefter skulle samtalen føre videre ind på tosprogethed, kodeskift og elevernes sproglige bevidsthed, eller deres færdighed i at udtrykke sig om sprog.

Femte år: Dette år var emnet på begge sprog fritid og fritidsforbrug (jf. Can 1995)

Sjette år: Elevernes forbrug af, og smag med hensyn til, ungdomskultur og dens forskellige udslag var udgangspunktet for samtalerne dette år. Det drejede sig om fjernsyn, musik, ungdomsblade osv.

Syvende år: Fritid og fritidsforbrug var emnet på begge sprog.

Ottende år: Identitet, netværker, ungdom, køn og etnicitet var udgangspunktet for samtalerne dette år. Som optakt gennemførte Janus Møller, Pia Quist og Rikke Byrjalsen gruppeinterviews med eleverne og nogle af deres etsprogede klassekammerater, netop om disse emner, og på dansk (se Byrjalsen et al 1999). Udbyttet af disse samtaler, og de gennemgående temaer, blev taget op i tovejssamtalerne.

Rapporter

De fleste af indsamlingerne af data, specielt sprogforståelsesprøverne, gruppesamtalerne og lærerspørgeskemaerne, er afrapporteret i foreløbig form i Arbejdspapirer om tosprogethed, Køgeserien (udgivet af Center for multikulturelle studier, Danmarks Lærerhøjskole).

5. Tilegnelse af dansk som andetsprog

Inden for den empiriske sprogtilegnelsesforskning lægger man stor vægt på longitudinelle undersøgelser, hvor elevers brug af målsproget i en række sammenlignelige situationer analyseres for at belyse deres tilegnelsesproces inden for et givet tidsrum (Larsen-Freeman & Long 1991). Med udgangspunkt i intersprogsbegrebet samler analysen sig om de sproglige træk, der er foranderlige over tid, men systematiske på ethvert tidspunkt herindenfor. Og de personer, hvis sprog man følger, betragtes med den nu gængse fagbetegnelse *learnere* som aktører i en læringsproces snarere end som modtagere af undervisning.

I Køge-projektet er der gode betingelser for en longitudinel analyse af nogle af de tosprogede børns udvikling af både tyrkisk og dansk talesprog, idet der hvert år fra 1. klasse til og med 8. klasse er indsamlet samtaler på begge sprog. De samme 10 elever kan altså følges over en 8-årig periode i en mundtlig interaktion, der i grove træk kan karakteriseres som samme sprogbrugssituation (samme tid, sted, type samtalepartner, emnefordeling, teknisk udstyr). Analysen af de dansksprogede samtaledata er en vigtig del af andetsprogsdelen af Køge-projektet. I det følgende vil vi supplere denne analyse med resultaterne af undersøgelserne af lytteforståelse på dansk og lærernes vurderinger af deres sprogfærdighed i de første skoleår.

På baggrund af sådan en udviklingsbeskrivelse vil vi endvidere vende blikket mod undersøgelsens to sidste klassetrin, hvor de tosprogedes dansktilegnelse er nået et så forholdsvis avanceret niveau , at de først og fremmest kan betragtes som unge sprogbrugere. Samtidig med at de unges dansk har gennemgået en betydelig udvikling, er der dog også store forskelle på deres sprogbrug og på, hvordan denne fungerer i forhold til deres etsprogede klassekammeraters. Disse forskelle belyser vi ved hjælp af to andre delundersøgelser, Quists talefærdighedsundersøgelse fra 8. klasse og den skriftlige cloze-prøve fra 9. klasse. Vi supplerer med elevernes karakterer til folkeskolens afgangsprøve.

6.Canan: et analyseeksempel

Tre af børnene, Esen, Bekir og Selma, talte dansk nogenlunde flydende og ubesværet ved vores første dataindsamling i 1. klasse. De øvrige var i højere grad præget af begyndervanskeligheder i brugen af dansk. De var usikre og generte, talte med lav stemme og i meget korte ytringer. Disse bestod ofte kun af enkeltord eller af gentagelser af dele af den voksnes ytringer. Når de forsøgte sig med lidt længere, kreative ytringer, kom ordene til gengæld ikke i en tilfældig rækkefølge, men derimod i en af to meget anvendte strukturer: 1) Det er + substantiv (som regel betegnelse for konkret person eller genstand) eller 2) S V (O) (subjekt og verbum efterfulgt af fakultativt objekt). Alt i alt syntes de tosprogede elever grammatisk optaget af at udtrykke de mest elementære semantiske relationer, dvs. mellem agens, patiens og verbalhandling, mens de samtidig godt kunne have problemer med at få udtrykt de pragmatiske relationer mellem kendt og ny information. Det kunne typisk vise sig som problemer med at udtrykke reference eller tidsfæste handlinger. Her spiller det selvfølgelig også ind, at deres morfologiske udvikling slet ikke var kommet i gang, og at de tosprogede elever som alle andre først i en sprogtilegnelse havde store leksikalske problemer. Alle disse træk er der eksempler på i teksteksempel 1 fra en samtale med Canan:

Eksempel 1: Samtale mellem voksen og Canan, 1. klasse (samtalen drejer sig om Busters søster Ingeborg, som er handicappet; i filmen bliver hun drillet med at være et "haltesvin"):

Voksen: Er Ingeborg et haltesvin?

Canan: Nej

Voksen: Nej. Hvad er et svin? Hvad er det for noget?

Canan: Det er en mad

Voksen: Mad?

Canan: Ja, de spiser

Voksen: Gris, ja. Altså det er en gris, ja. Hvorfor siger han det til Ingeborg? Hun er da ikke nogen gris

Canan: Ja, hun er mand

På trods af Canans besvær med at udtrykke sig på dansk, lykkes det faktisk for hende at gennemføre en ca. 20 minutters samtale med den voksne. Det kan så skyldes, at hun får både opmuntring, god tid til at formulere sig og anden interaktionel støtte undervejs.

To år efter er der sket en tydelig formel udvikling med Canans sprog. Som det fremgår af teksteksempel 2 og af analysen i Holmen (1995), er hendes ordforråd blevet større, hun tager ordet i længere tid ad gangen og fastholder fx sammenhængen i kortere narrative forløb. Grammatisk betjener hun sig af længere ytringer, der ikke kun indeholder S, V og O, men også adverbier og adjektiver samt en række funktionsord (præpositioner og konjunktioner). Den øgede informationsmængde i ytringerne samt den højere grad af fluency giver dog ikke alene større variation i sætningsbygningen, men også et noget kaotisk udtryk. Der forekommer nu begyndende indlejring af ledsætninger med direkte tale, og der er samtidig tegn på, at både nominal- og verbalmorfologien er i fokus for tilegnelsen.

Eksempel 2: Samtale mellem voksen og Canan, 3. klasse (samtalen drejer sig om Oskars fødselsdag, som er begivenhedsrig: han får en levende frø af Lille Virgil (som har gult tøj på); frøen springer op i lagkagen, drengene hælder rød sodavand i havens springvand, og de tænder for en havetraktor, som fræser hele græsplænen op):

Voksen:	Kan du huske da Oskar havde fødselsdag?
Canan:	Mm
Voksen:	Fortæl om det
Canan:	Der kom øh gul # den der med gul tøj købe en frø til øh Oskar, og så kom med den, og så # og så gør mor bordet færdig ikke også, så kom og øh med det gule tøj så kom han og give gaven til til Oskar, og så # og så # og så åbnede gaven Oskar, så sagde han: det er sådan en jeg vil øh have # så blev han glad for frøen var i lagkage # lagkagen blev ødelagt, og så male gul sodavander der er sådan en rund en det er ligesom vand ikke også. Så har de lavet med cola rød vand og så har de lavet rund der, og så har de taget frøen og ligesom motor ikke også, og der kørte med det, og så blev og så blev haven helt ødelagt

Et par år senere, i 5. klasse, er Canan ikke kun flydende, men også væsentligt mere korrekt grammatisk set. Hun er rimelig sikker i både nominal- og verbalmorfologien og bruger hyppigt underordning og inversion. Men hun lyder stadig ikke som sine etsprogede kammerater p.g.a. en tydelig accent og nogle særlige leksikalske problemer, fx med genus (fx et lejlighed i eksempel 3).

Eksempel 3: Samtale mellem voksen og Canan, 5. klasse (samtalen drejer sig om at holde ferie i Tyrkiet):

Voksen: Du har nogle venner dernede?

Canan: Ja, men det er nogle nye venner jeg har # fordi vi bor på et lejlighed nu # vi boede på et hus

Voksen: Nåh, så du er flyttet dernede?

Canan: Ja

Voksen: Ja, så dem har du ikke kendt så meget så # på det nye sted?

Canan: Nej, jeg har kun kendt dem i to måneder

Voksen: Ja, hvad laver I så når I er sammen?

Canan: De ved nogle andre lege som man kan

Voksen: Mm

Canan : Dem leger vi og så nogle gange fortæller jeg hvordan det er at bo i Danmark

Voksen: Ja, hvad fortæller du dem så?

Canan: Jeg fortæller at jeg har nogle gode venner og gode lærere

Voksen: Mm

Canan: At det er ret sjovt at være i Danmark

7. Funktion-til-form-analyse

Beskrivelsen af udviklingen af Canans dansk har her især drejet sig om hendes gradvise tilegnelse af morfo-syntaktiske træk. Analysen af hendes intersprog har dog ikke begrænset sig hertil, men har også inddraget aspekter af hendes samtalerolle og diskurskompetence. Faktisk tog analysen udgangspunkt i en karakteristik af interaktionen som helhed, idet denne først og fremmest betragtes som social arena for udveksling af meningsfulde ytringer. Herindenfor beskrives så dels Canans sikkerhed i det sproglige udtryk (dvs. automatiseringsgrad eller fluency) og dels Canans samtalerolle i form af de typer information, hun bidrager med. Her tænkes ikke alene på, hvilke semantiske kategorier hun giver sprogligt udtryk, men også hvordan de enkelte elementer knyttes sammen indbyrdes og med det overordnede tema. Dette sidste, pragmatiske punkt vedrører på den ene side, hvordan Canan skaber kohæsion, og på den anden side hvordan hun skelner mellem kendt og ny information. Efter at informationsstrukturen i Canans ytringer er karakteriseret, retter vi analysen mod først det syntaktiske og siden det morfologiske niveau.

Denne analyseform er en såkaldt funktion-til-form-analyse, der tager sit teoretiske udgangspunkt i en bred funktionel forståelse af sprogtilegnelse (Givón 1979, Ellis 1984, Lund 1997). Ifølge denne foregår udviklingen i de formelle dele af sproget som afledt af den måde, learneren lærer at håndtere stadig mere komplekse semantiske og pragmatiske funktioner på. Med andre ord forbindes dynamikken i tilegnelsen først og fremmest med den funktionelle udvikling, som så til gengæld hele tiden har konsekvenser for udviklingen af det formelleniveau. (Om fordelen ved at kombinere funktion-til-form og form-til-funktion analyser se Sato 1990, Holmen 1995).

8. Generelle udviklingslinier

Samme slags analyse blev gennemført af Holmen i en længdeundersøgelse af seks unge learneres dansk sidst i 1980erne. De unge havde engelsk, albansk eller vietnamesisk som modersmål og var 15-19 år gamle på indsamlingstidspunktet. Resultaterne af analysen blev sammenfattet i en udviklingslinie, som senere er udbygget til den version, som fremgår i figur 2. (Holmen 1990, Holmen & Jørgensen 1997). Det skal understreges, at udviklingslinien er et resultat af en empirisk undersøgelse og ikke en teoretisk model for dansktilegnelse. Ganske vist giver den et fælles billede af seks unge learneres dansktilegnelse og det endda seks unge, der indbyrdes afviger stærkt fra hinanden med hensyn til sproglig og socio-kulturel baggrund. Men billedet er kun fælles i hovedtrækkene, mens den konkrete udformning af disse kan variere. Fx karakteriseres trin 3a ved variabel ordstilling (dvs. anden ledrækkefølge end SVO eller det er NP), men der er forskel på, hvordan denne typisk ser ud. På dette punkt kan der meget vel være tale om påvirkning fra de tre forskellige modersmål (engelsk, albansk og vietnamesisk, Holmen 1990). Desuden er der store forskelle på, hvor hurtigt de seks learnere gennemløber de enkelte trin, og dermed også hvor langt de kommer i løbet af det år, undersøgelsen dækker.

Skønt den fundne udviklingslinie ikke nødvendigvis har generel gyldighed, er det dog interessant, at den på en række punkter er identisk med andre forsøg på at opstille trin eller sekvenser for udviklingen af et andetsprog (Ellis 1984, Pienemann 1998, Givón 1979, Larsen-Freeman & Long 1991). Nogle af disse har ganske vist helt andre teoretiske forklaringer på den opstillede udvikling, men stor empirisk overensstemmelse.

På denne baggrund bruger vi udviklingslinien (i versionen fra 1997) som grundlag for det følgende, skønt eventuelle uoverensstemmelser i analysen kan være vanskelige at bestemme nærmere. Afvigelser fra udviklingslinien kan skyldes en svaghed i denne. De kan også syldes børnenes alder og dermed deres kognitive udvikling. Kun på de ældste klassetrin kan Køge-børnene aldersmæssigt sammenlignes med de unge i den tidligere undersøgelse. Endvidere kan afvigelser skyldes, at deres modersmål, tyrkisk, kunne tænkes at influere typologisk på anden måde end de tidligere inddragede (ikke-agglutinerende) modersmål. Fx er der noget, der tyder på, at inversion er et tvivlsomt kriterium for danskbeherskelse på trin 5, idet eleverne behersker dette træk væsentligt tidligere end de øvrige træk på trin 5.

Trin	Interaktionelt og funktionelt fokus	Strukturelle træk
1a	Samtaledeltagelse overhovedet	Gentagelser af samtalepartners Ytringer
1b	Udtrykke (u)enighed med samtalepartneren - En ny information pr. ytring (referenter og handlinger)	Gentagelser og helheder Fast ordstilling: SVO "det er" + NP Løs sammenkædning
2	Propositionel betydning Tilføjelse af enkel baggrundsinformation	Ordstilling styret af kasusroller Foranstillede adverbier Paratakse
3a	Fluency med baggrundsinformation	Variabel ordstilling Adverbier placeret i strengen
3b	Fluency med sammenstilling af kompleks information i kæder af ytringer	Rækker af korte helsætninger Nominalmorfologi
4	Længere ytringer Kausal-, tidsrelationer m.m.	Side- og underordning Serielle verber Verbalmorfologi
5a	Kompleks information: - avancerede grammatiske og pragmatiske regler	Inversion, pladsholdere, passiv, kløvninger, placering af adverbier i ledsætninger
5b	Fuld funktionel beherskelse Stilforskelle	Sikkerhed Strukturel og funktionel variation

Figur 2: udviklingslinie fra Holmen 1990 (revideret i Holmen & Jørgensen 1

9. Canan og de 9 andre tosprogede elever

De tre samtaler med Canan, som vi viste uddrag af ovenfor, passer ganske godt med beskrivelserne af henholdsvis trin 1 (samtalen fra 1. klasse), en kombination af trin 3b og trin 4 (samtalen fra 3. klasse) og trin 5a (samtalen fra 5. klasse). I sin undersøgelse af Canan og de 9 andre tosprogede elever fandt Quist (1998), at udviklingsliniens højreside (de strukturelle træk) kunne bruges til en sammenligning af de ti tosprogede elevers tilegnelseshastighed (se tabel 2). For alle 10 tosprogede elever er der tale om en tydelig udvikling frem mod trin 5, som kun en af dem, Eda, ikke når. Samtidig bemærker man, hvor store forskelle der er på de 10 tosprogede elevers danskforudsætninger ved skolestarten og på deres tilegnelseshastighed.

At analysen giver et sandsynligt billede af børnenes danskkundskaber i de tidlige klasser, bekræftes af et par andre undersøgelser i Køge-projektet, nemlig lærervurderingerne fra 1. klasse og 3. klasse (Gimbel 1994) samt sprogforståelsesprøven på dansk i 2. klasse (Jørgensen & Holmen 1995). Selv om der er tale om forskellige opgørelsesmåder, er resultatet af de tre delundersøgelser samlet i tabel 3 for overskuelighedens skyld. Her kan talværdierne ikke sammenlignes på tværs af undersøgelserne, men inden for hver delundersøgelse kan det enkelte barns relative placering afgøres.

Elev	Esen	Merva	Bekir	Canan	Hüseyin	Erol	Selma	Asiye	Murat	Eda
1.kl.	5	3	4	1	3	1	4	1	3	-
2.kl.	5	3	5	2	5	2	5	2	4	1
4.kl.	5	4-5	-	5	5	3	5	2-3	5	3
6.kl.	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4-5	5	3-4
8.kl.	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4

Tabel 2. Trinplacering 1.-8. klasse (Quist 1998)

Det ses af tabel 3, at Esens danskkundskaber vurderes højest i alle fire mål, mens Merva, Erol, Asiye og Eda ligger i bund. De øvrige fem elever har det til fælles, at dansklæreren i 1. klasse vurderer deres danskkundskaber til 4 på en 5-punktskala, hvor 5 er laveste niveau. To år senere vurderes Hüseyin og Selma fortsat til 4 af samme lærer, mens Bekir og Canan vurderes til 2 og Murat til 3. Bekir ligger hele tiden blandt de øverst placerede, mens billedet ikke ser helt så entydigt ud for Hüseyin, Selma, Canan og Murat, når også trinplaceringen og lytteforståelsen inddrages. Det kunne se ud til, at de fire børn efter indskolingen bytter plads inden for gruppen, således at Hüseyin og Selma rykker nedad, mens Canan og Murat rykker opad.

Elev	Lærervurdering 1.kl	Lærervurdering 3.kl	Når højeste trin i	Lytteforståelse
Esen	2	1	1. klasse	1
Bekir	4	2	2. klasse	3
Hüseyin	4	4	2. klasse	5
Selma	4	4	2. klasse	2
Canan	4	2	4. klasse	8
Murat	4	3	4. klasse	4
Merva	5	4	4.-6. klasse	6
Erol	5	5	6. klasse	7
Asiye	5	5	6.-8. klasse	9
Eda	5	5	?	10

Tabel 3: Forskellige delundersøgelser af ti tosprogede elevers danskkundskaber.

De to første kolonner angiver elevernes læreres vurdering af deres dansk på en fempunktsskala med 5 som laveste tal. Den næste kolonne angiver det klassetrin, hvor eleverne i Quists (1998) undersøgelse når det højeste trin. Den sidste kolonne viser den indbyrdes rækkefølge i deres resultater i en lytteforståelsesprøve i 2. klasse.

10. De unge andetsprogsbrugere

Forskellen på de tosprogede børns danskkundskaber forstærkedes yderligere i folkeskolens øverste klasser. Til folkeskolens afgangsprøver i dansk klarede Canan, Esen, Bekir og Murat sig bedst både skriftligt og mundtligt (og i den nævnte rækkefølge), mens de øvrige lå stort set ens i bunden af såvel gruppen af tosprogede som af hele elevgruppen på i alt 34 elever (22 etsprogede, ti tosprogede med tyrkisk som modersmål og to tosprogede med punjabi som modersmål). Gennemsnittet for såvel årskarakterer som eksamenskarakterer i både skriftlig og mundtlig dansk var mellem 7,6 og 7,9 for de 34 elever under et. Canan, Esen, Bekir og Murat lå over gennemsnittet med hver af deres fire danskkarakterer, mens alle de øvrige tosprogede lå under gennemsnittet.

Samme indbyrdes fordeling viste sig i en vurdering af de ti tosprogede elevers mundtlige dansk i 8. klasse. Quist og Jørgensen (u.udg.) bad godt 100 unge og voksne med dansk som modersmål tage stilling til båndprøver med de 10 tosprogede elever samt med to af deres etsprogede jævnaldrende (under navnene Pia og Thomas). Hver enkelt af de 12 unge skulle vurderes på en skala fra 1 (hakkende) over 3 (jævnt flydende) til 5 (veltalende), og desuden skulle der tages stilling til, hvorvidt de unge havde dansk som modersmål. Proceduren er beskrevet i Quist 1998, 86-95.

Gennemsnittet af de godt 100 indfødte dansktalendes 5-punkts-vurderinger af de 12 unge fremgår af tabel 4 (i parentes angives, hvor mange der mente, at vedkommende elev havde dansk som modersmål). Der er stor forskel på yderpunkterne i vurderingen af de unges fluency (gennemsnitstal fra 2,21 til 4,15), men ikke de store spring inden for denne rangorden. Set sammen med vurderingen af, hvorvidt den unge kunne have dansk som modersmål, deler tallene imidlertid de 12 tosprogede unge op i to grupper med Murat, Bekir, Canan, Esen i den ene gruppe sammen med de to unge, der har dansk som modersmål, og de øvrige seks i den anden gruppe.

Det er interessant, at Esen vurderes som mest veltalende af alle, mens kun lidt over halvdelen af de adspurgte mener, at hun har dansk som modersmål. At de to vurderinger ikke nødvendigvis hænger sammen, ses også på den etsprogede danske pige Pias placering i rækkefølgen. Ifølge Quist (1998, 92), der dog bygger på et lavere antal besvarelser (nemlig 46), kan dette muligvis tolkes som tegn på, "at grænserne mellem, hvad der opfattes som dansk og "indvandrerdansk" er vage for de højest vurderedes vedkommende".

Samme indbyrdes fordeling i gruppen af tosprogede genfinder vi i den sidste delundersøgelse, som er en skriftlig cloze-prøve, der blev indsamlet på dansk blandt alle eleverne i de to 9. klasser. Som tekst valgtes et kapitel af Benny Andersens erindringsbog *På broen*, som fortæller om en dramatisk episode i en skolegård. Denne tekst blev fundet velegnet til formålet, fordi den dels var spændende og havde unge mennesker som hovedpersoner, og dels indeholdt et tydeligt narrativt forløb, uden direkte tale, men med omtale af et større antal personer, hvis indbyrdes relationer det var nødvendigt at holde styr på gennem en bred vifte af reference- og kohæsionsmarkører (pronomener, navne, bestemthed, tempus). Der var i alt 59 items i cloze-prøven, efter at hvert syvende ord var blevet fjernet. Resultatet blev gjort op på to måder: om eleven ramte tekstforlæggets ord i den rigtige form, og om eleven ramte et betydningsmæssigt og grammatisk acceptabelt ord. Den sidste opgørelsesmåde anvendes her, se tabel 5.

Eda:	2,21	(5)
Asiye:	2,35	(14)
Selma:	2,57	(6)
Hüseyin:	2,70	(20)
Erol:	2,94	(40)
Merva:	3,12	(13)
Murat:	3,28	(60)
Pia:	3,55	(69)
Canan:	3,68	(48)
Bekir:	3,78	(48)
Thomas:	3,80	(93)
Esen:	4,15	(61)

Tabel 4. Vurderinger af 12 elevers talefærdighed på en skala fra 1 til 5 (højest). I parentes angives det antal ud af 104 svarere, der skønnede, at den pågældende elev havde dansk som modersmål.

50-58 acceptable:	Johan, Janus, Pia, Malene, Britta, Esen, Albert, Jens
40-49 acceptable:	Kristina, Mogens, Jean, Canan, Kenneth, Katja, Thomas, Nanette, Bekir, Murat
30-39 acceptable:	Karsten, Kenny, Mishal,
20-29 acceptable:	Divya, Selma, Erol, Eda
12-19 acceptable:	Asiye, Merva, Hüseyin

Tabel 5. Antal af items i cloze-prøve (dansk, 9. klasse), som er udfyldt med et acceptabelt svar.

Der er tydelig forskel på top og bund i denne rangorden (fra 12 til 58 acceptable ord). Forskellen vedrører imidlertid ikke hverken køn eller de to 9. klasser i forhold til hinanden. Derimod er det bemærkelsesværdigt, at bunden alene udgøres af tosprogede unge (de seks tyrkiske og de to pakistanske). Esen (med 53 acceptable ord) ligger i top, mens Canan (45), Bekir (41) og Murat (40) ligger midt i elevgruppen blandt de etsprogede unge. Som ved fluency-undersøgelsen kan det konkluderes, at der er to grupper af tosprogede: en top, der dårligt kan skelnes fra de etsprogede, og en bund, der klart skiller sig ud.

En videre analyse af de uacceptable besvarelser i grammatiske og leksikalske fejl nuancerede imidlertid sammenligningen mellem et- og tosprogede. Under de grammatiske regnedes såvel morfo-syntaktiske som tekstlingvistiske fejl. I tabel 6 er de etsprogede elevers fejl slået sammen, mens de tosprogedes fejl er opgjort person for person og med de ikke-udfyldte items medregnet i det samlede antal fejl. Denne fremgangsmåde skyldes, at der blandt de tosprogede var stor individuel forskel på antallet af items, der blot blev sprunget over.

Navn	Antal fejl i alt	Antal fejludfyld-ninger	Grammatiske fejl	Leksikalske fejl
Etsprogede	204	180	69 %	31 %
Esen	6	6	33 %	67 %
Canan	14	14	78 %	22 %
Bekir	18	11	55 %	45 %
Murat	19	16	56 %	44 %
Selma	31	26	58 %	42 %
Erol	35	20	60 %	40 %
Eda	36	33	81 %	19 %
Asiye	41	32	71 %	29 %
Merva	43	41	76 %	24 %
Hüseyin	47	10	67 %	33 %

Tabel 6: Fordelingen af uacceptable besvarelser (fejl) i 9. klasses cloze-prøve. De to sidste kolonner angiver fordelingen af typer af fejl som procentandel af tallet i kolonnen med antallet af fejludfyldninger.

Bortset fra Esen er andelen af grammatiske fejl større end andelen af leksikalske (hos både et- og tosprogede). Samtidig ser det ud til, at de unge tosprogede, der klarer cloze-prøven bedst, har større leksikalske problemer end de etsprogede. Det gælder Esen, Bekir, Murat, Selma og Erol. Hüseyin hører også talmæssigt til denne gruppe, men han bør formentlig tages helt ud af sammenligningen, da han ret hurtigt helt opgav at gennemføre prøven (han har således 37 uudfyldte items). De sidste fire, som har en større andel af grammatiske fejl end de etsprogede, udgør umiddelbart en overraskende gruppe: Canan, Eda, Asiye og Merva. Af disse ligger Canan i øvrigt meget højt, mens de andre tre generelt ligger i bunden. Her er det nødvendigt at se nærmere på typen af grammatiske fejl, de begår, for at kunne forklare sammenhængen. Det er muligt, at Canan ligger på linie med flere af de højst scorende etsprogede, og at hendes fordeling af grammatiske og leksikalske fejl skyldes særdeles gode danskkundskaber, mens de tre andre måske stadig er i gang med at tilegne sig mere elementære grammatiske fænomener i dansk. Her spiller det sandsynligvis en rolle, at clozeprøven er skriftlig og forholdsvis sprogligt krævende (med idiomatiske udtryk, metaforer, indirekte referencer til personer og overraskende tempusskift).

I en planlagt, mere detaljeret analyse af cloze-prøvens resultater vil vi således senere kunne belyse, om følgende udviklingsmønster holder: Trin 1: Overvægt af sætningsgrammatiske problemer; Trin 2: Overvægt af leksikalske fejl; Trin 3: Overvægt af tekstlingvistiske fejl.

11. Mål for tilegnelse af dansk som andetsprog - oversigt

Gennem en række forskellige mål på de ti tosprogedes dansksproglige udvikling over en 9-årig periode har der vist sig et tydeligt mønster med Esen, Canan, Bekir og Murat i toppen og Asiye, Merva og Hüseyin i bunden. For disse syv tosprogede elever er der altså klar sammenhæng mellem de forskellige mål, herunder mellem deres almene danskkundskaber og deres resultater til folkeskolens afgangsprøve og såvel i skriftlige som i mundtlige genrer. Desuden kan det tilføjes, at de fordeler sig i de samme to grupper m.h.t. tyrkiskkundskaber (vurderet på en sprogforståelsesprøve i 2. klasse, Jørgensen & Holmen 1995, samt på resultatet af en tyrkisk cloze prøve i 9. klasse).

Det skal bemærkes, at der blandt de fire i toppen, er to, som ifølge såvel lærervurderinger som lytteforståelsesprøven allerede havde gode danskkundskaber i indskolingen (Esen og Bekir). Samtidig er der også to, Canan og Murat, som kunne meget lidt dansk ved skolestarten, men som gradvis udviklede sig hurtigere end resten af gruppen af tosprogede.

Det ser ud til, at Selma gennemløber den modsatte udvikling, idet hun startede skolen med forholdsvis gode danskkundskaber, men gradvis bevægede sig nedad inden for gruppen. For de to sidste vedkommendes er der forskel på de forskellige mål: Erol ligger lidt højere mundtligt, mens Eda, som først flyttede til Danmark som 8-årig, ligger højere skriftligt. Begge disse klarer sig i øvrigt godt på tyrkisk.

Der kan være både sproglige og ikke-sproglige grunde til forskellene på de ti tosprogede elevers dansktilegnelse. Ovenfor er antydet en mulig forbindelse mellem den dansksproglige udvikling og børnenes tyrkiske sprog, ligesom der synes at være en sammenhæng mellem deres sproglige udvikling og deres faglige udbytte af skolegangen i øvrigt. Quist tilføjer endnu en dimension, idet hun diskuterer betydningen af de enkelte unges sociale identitet i klassen, forstået således at optagelse i det sociale fællesskab på den ene side bygger på solide danskkundskaber og på den anden side stimulerer disse (Quist 1998, Maegaard & Quist 1999). Endelig antyder en række undersøgelser af børnenes tosprogede udvikling, herunder deres brug af kodeskift og deres bevidsthed om at være tosprogede, en forbindelse mellem dansktilegnelsen og deres tosprogethed i bredere forstand, dvs. inkl. deres brug af tyrkisk, kodeskift osv. (Byrjalsen m.fl. 1999, Jørgensen 1993, 1998, Holmen & Jørgensen 1997).

12. Tosprogethed

En af de centrale problemstillinger i beskrivelsen af tosprogethed er spørgsmålet, om der hos den tosprogede sprogbruger foreligger to adskilte størrelser. Altså om den tosprogedes sprog skal opfattes, og af den tosprogede bliver behandlet, hver for sig. Denne problemstilling har naturligvis flere sider. Den har et lingvistisk aspekt, der drejer sig om det materiale, der indgår i tosprogetheden, herunder de ord, syntaktiske strukturer, bøjningsmønstre, udtaler m.v., som den tosprogede benytter sig af. Problemstillingen har også et sociolingvistisk aspekt, og det drejer sig om normer og praksis med hensyn til den tosprogedes anvendelse af disse lingvistiske elementer i kontakten med andre mennesker. Dertil kommer et psykolingvistisk aspekt, der drejer sig om, hvordan sprogbrugere lagrer sproglige størrelser og henter dem frem fra lagrene igen i forbindelse med sprogproduktion (tale eller skrift). I det følgende overvejer vi problemstillingen under inddragelse af disse synsvinkler og med udgangspunkt i Køge-materialet. Vi vil vise, at vores materiale tyder på, at der hos de unge tosprogede tyrkisk-danske sprogbrugere er tale om en tosprogethed, som kun kan forstås, når tosprogethed er integreret - eller kan integreres.

13. Modeller for tosprogethed

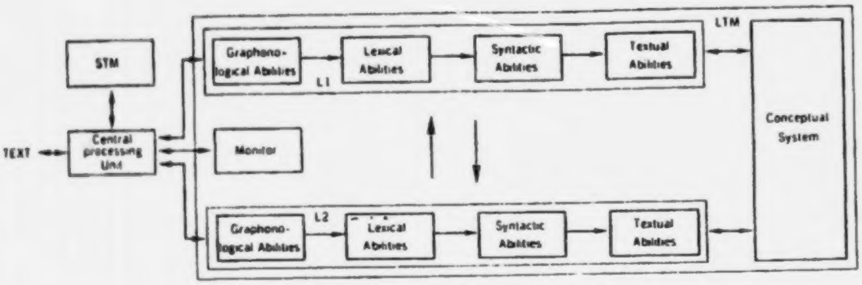
Tosprogethed fremstilles ofte som beherskelsen af to sprog hver for sig. Behandlingen af tosprogethed som fænomen bliver så til en diskussion om, i hvor høj grad den tosprogede behersker henholdsvis det ene sprog og det andet sprog. Et karakteristisk eksempel har vi i følgende leksikondefinition:

> tosprogethed (bilingvalisme) bruges om fuldstændig beherskelse af to sprog. Tosprogethed kan være erhvervet ved opvækst i et tosproget miljø hvor det dog almindeligvis er dominans af det ene sprog (modersmålet) over det andet, eller den kan være erhvervet ved flytning til et andet sprogområde eller (sjældnere) ved undervisning (Cramer m.fl. 1996, 162)

Ud over et noget utilfredsstillende kendskab til tosprogethedsforskningen afslører denne formulering en meget håndfast opfattelse af tosprogethed som tilstedeværelsen af et sprog sammen med tilstedeværelsen af et andet sprog - og med det udefinerbare "fuld beherskelse" som kriterium. Nu er dette et ekstremt eksempel, men selv når de to sprog tænkes at være til stede samtidig, opfattes deres indbyrdes forhold ofte sådan, at de to øver "interferens" på hinanden. Nogle fremstillinger lægger stor vægt på at skelne mellem forskellige typer af definitioner af tosprogethed og disses forskellige fokusering på aspekter af tosprogetheden (således det vel mest fremtrædende nordiske eksempel, Skutnabb-Kangas 1981). Sædvanligvis anses det for afgørende, at der hos den tosprogede sprogbruger foreligger en vis grad af beherskelse af et sprog, og en vis grad af beherskelse af et andet sprog. Sprogene beherskes så at sige hver for sig.

Tilsvarende forstås sprogfrembringelsen som et kontinuum af processer, der på et eller andet sted hos den tosprogede adskiller sig i sprogspecifikke underprocesser. Disse delprocesser forløber uafhængigt af hinanden, hvis de er knyttet til hvert sit sprog. Et eksempel er Verhoeven (1987), der i en diskussion om etniske minoritetsbørn og skriftsprogstilegnelse forelægger en model over den tosprogede sprogbruger, se figur 3. Modellen er karakteristisk ved at sideordne de to sprog, men også ved at skille dem ad. Hele sprogfrembringelsen sker i én af de to kæder, en evt. integration finder sted uden for.

Også i diskussioner, der inddrager interferens, transfer eller andre af de tydelige tegn på gensidighed i tosprogetheden, kommer det meget let til adskillelse. Det gælder fx Greens model (1986), se figur 4. Modeller som denne hviler på den opfattelse, at de fleste elementer i en sprogbrug kan tilskrives enten det ene eller det andet af de to sprog, der indgår i tosprogetheden. Der er selvfølgelig ord og træk, der ikke klart kan tilskrives kun det ene eller kun det andet af sprogene. Men det skyldes i så fald, at det pågældende ord eller træk er del af begge sprogene - de bruges også af etsprogede i hvert af sprogene, altså fx ord som *computer* på engelsk og dansk og *libero* på tysk og dansk. I princippet eksisterer sprogene fuldt ud uafhængigt af hinanden. Man kunne så at sige tage det ene sprog væk, og det andet ville være der i fuld udstrækning.


STM
TEXT
Central processing Unit
Monitor
Graphonological Abilities
L1
Lexical Abilities
Syntactic Abilities
Textual Abilities
LTM
Conceptual System
L2
Graphonological Abilities
Lexical Abilities
Syntactic Abilities
Textual Abilities

Figur 3. Verhoevens model af den tosprogede sprogbruger (Verhoeven 1987,44; efter Levelt & Kempen 1976)

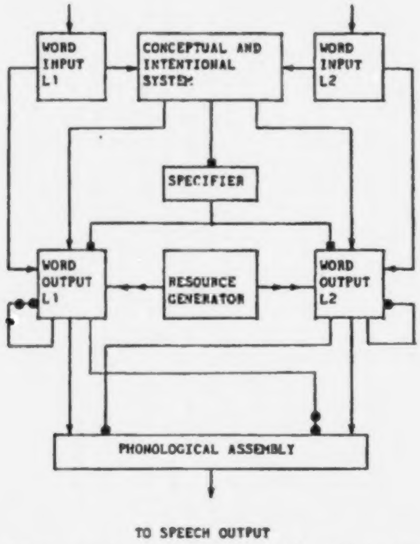

WORD INPUT L1
CONCEPTUAL AND INTENTIONAL SYSTEM
WORD INPUT L2
SPECIFIER
WORD OUTPUT L1
RESOURCE GENERATOR
WORD OUTPUT L2
PHONOLOGICAL ASSEMBLY
TO SPEECH OUTPUT

FIG. 3. A state of the system in the inhibitory control model during alternate antagonism and paradoxical translation. →, flow of activation; –■, control instructions; →→, resource input; –●–●, adequate inhibitory control; –●, inadequate inhibitory control.

Figur 4. Greens model for den tosprogede sprogbruger (Green 1986, 216, se også Green 1986, 219)

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For sådan et syn på tosprogethed bliver vekslen mellem sprogene naturligvis et interessant problem at forklare. Tosprogede sprogbrugere skifter mellem de to postuleret uafhængige sprog i deres tosprogethed, ved kodeskift, kodeblanding, lån eller på andre måder. Allerede Kolers (1966) fandt, at kodeskift måtte indebære en omkostning, og belyste det empirisk med den tid, det tager en tosproget sprogbruger at læse en tosproget tekst op, sammenlignet med den tid, det tager den samme sprogbruger at læse en etsproget tekst op. Andre eksperimenter har støttet den hypotese, at tosprogede sprogbrugere så at sige har en knap, de aktiverer, når de skifter fra et sprog til et andet. Denne knap og aktiveringen af den er en omkostning for den tosprogede sprogbruger i forbindelse med skift mellem de to sprog.

Nu er der sandsynligvis forskel på, om den tosprogede afkoder et budskab med indbygget kodeskift, eller den tosprogede producerer et kodeskift. Specielt viser det sig, at tosprogede med hensyn til visse produktive opgaver faktisk kan producere hurtigere end etsprogede (Wakefield m.fl. 1976). Dette har givet anledning til hypotesen om en output-knap og en input-knap (Macnamara 1967). Output-knappen er styret af den tosprogede sprogbruger, der (under almindelige omstændigheder) beslutter at anvende det ene eller det andet sprog. Input-knappen er derimod styret af den strøm af sproglige data, som den tosprogede modtager (Macnamara & Kushnir 1971). I begge tilfælde er det imidlertid udgangspunktet, at de to sprog er adskilt hos den tosprogede.

Andre hypoteser om tilstedeværelsen af sprogene hos den tosprogede går ud fra, at de to sprog er til stede sammen. Men de er forbundet med hinanden i et associativt netværk, hvor forbindelserne mellem træk i "samme" sprog er tættere end forbindelser på tværs af sprogene, således at der er ét system af sproglige forbindelser (Paradis 1981, 1987, se også von Studnitz &

Green 1997). Paradis foreslår i øvrigt en kombineret model, hvorefter den tosprogede sprogbruger udnytter *såvel* et sæt af træk fra det ene og et sæt af træk fra det andet *som* et overordnet sæt af fælles træk og begreber.

Et af argumenterne for opfattelsen af tosprogethed som et integreret fænomen er accent. Accent er det fænomen, at en sprogbruger kan intendere en produktion på ét sprog, men ved sin praktiske adfærd vise klare tegn på, at træk fra et andet sprog indvirker på frembringelsesprocessen (Romaine 1995, 88). Accent kan imidlertid betragtes som et resultat af tilegnelsen, og kun den. Derved er andetsproget udformet med et sæt af regler, der netop kan beskrives som et mellemsprog. Dvs de er ved deres dannelse og udvikling hos sprogbrugeren ikke formet uafhængigt af førstesproget. Men de kan i princippet godt fungere uafhængigt af førstesprogets regler, når de først er dannet som regler i mellemsproget.

De psykolingvistisk orienterede modeller bygger et langt stykke på eksperimenter. Det er jo ikke helt simpelt at skabe eksperimentelle omstændigheder, der kan repræsentere de situationer, hvorunder tosprogede kodeskifter eller i det hele taget benytter sig af deres sproglige kompetencer. Der er langt igen, før de psykolingvistiske modeller er i stand til at beskrive såvel tosproget kompetence som tosproget praksis (for slet ikke at tale om udviklingsaspektet).

14. Tosproget praksis

Vores resultater tyder på, at det er uhensigtsmæssigt at ville opfatte hvert eneste sproglige element som en del af enten det ene sprog eller det andet sprog (eller af begge, men hver for sig). Vi kan også opfatte sprogbrugen hos den tosprogede som en integration af elementer (og færdigheder) fra hvert af de involverede sprog, uden at det er klart for hvert eneste element, om det er det ene eller det andet. Altså forstået på den måde, at et træk anvendt i den tosprogede sprogbrug ikke "tilhører" det ene eller det andet sprog, men netop tilhører den tosprogede sprogbrug.

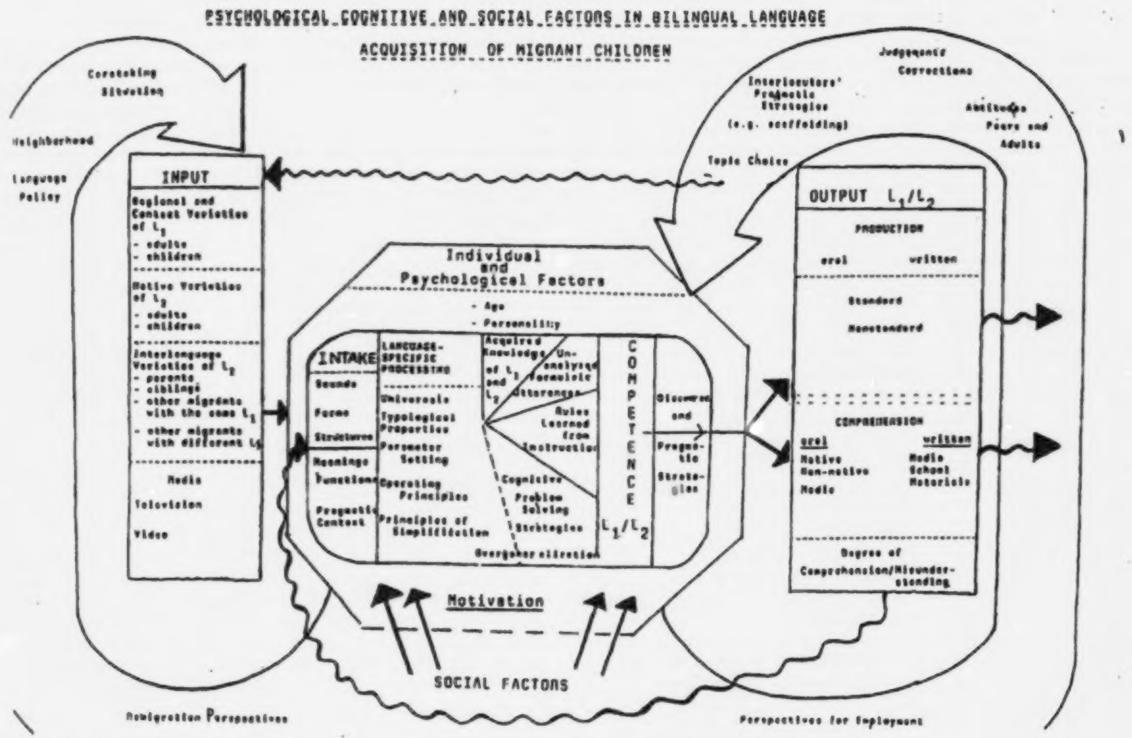
Set på denne måde må en model over tosproget sprogbrug kunne redegøre for både (tilstræbt) etsproget produktion og tosproget produktion hos sprogbrugeren. De enkelte elementer og træk i sprogbrugen må derfor hos sprogbrugeren være markeret som elementer og træk, der kan benyttes i etsproget sprogbrug, og da i hvilken. Herved adskiller markeringen af sprogtilhørsforholdet sig ikke fra alle de andre egenskaber, som de sproglige træk lagres med. Markeringen er endvidere inkorporeret hos den tosprogede i forbindelse med sprogtilegnelsen. Tilegnelsen af de involverede sprog er næppe uafhængig af de strukturelle forskelle mellem sprogene, og tilegnelsesresultatet afhænger af typologiske og andre forhold.

Det er ikke noget, vi har fundet på: Carol Pfaff har i sine studier af tysk-tyrkisk tosprogethed blandt børn i Berlin fundet, "that actual errors are relatively infrequent even in German-dominant children's speech, but that there are clear differences in the inventory of structures used and in the frequencies with which the various alternatives are employed" (1993, 142). Det vil sige, at det tyrkisk, som bruges af såkaldt tysk-dominante tosprogede førskolebørn i Berlin ikke indeholder særlig mange konstruktioner, der ikke ville kunne høres i etsprogedes tyrkisk. Men sådanne etsprogede tyrkiske konstruktioner, som ligger nærmere det etsprogede tyskes muligheder, er overrepræsenteret blandt disse børn. Tyrkisk er således et pro-drop-sprog, men man kan møde ytringer som

Peter, sen bana topu verir misin?

Ytringen indeholder elementerne: Peter, du mig-dativ bold-akkusativ give-præsens spørgsmål-2.person singularis (i oversættelse: Peter, giver du mig bolden?). Her er to pronominer repræsenteret, som ikke er obligatoriske i tyrkisk, men som er det i tysk. Ved optællinger over et stort datamateriale finder Pfaff og hendes kolleger, at blandt mulige alternative strukturer er der hos tosprogede tyrkisk-tysktalende børn en tendens til, når de taler tyrkisk, at vælge de strukturelle muligheder, der er nærmest på at ækvivalere med tysk, især blandt de såkaldt tysk-dominante børn. Det samme ser også ud til at gælde deres samtalestrategier. Pfaff pointerer, at der ikke er tale om en egentlig sammenblanding af grammatiske systemer. Sprogene udvikler sig sideløbende, og fx de tyrkisk-dominante børns bøjningsmorfologi er som den, der er beskrevet for indfødte børn i Tyrkiet.

Pfaffs resultater rejser spørgsmålet, om der virkelig er tale om to systemer, og om de to systemer skal opfattes separat. Hendes egen - tentative - model for tilegnelsen ser ud, som det fremgår af figur 5. Hun adskiller her de to involverede sprog på input niveauet. På dette niveau forekommer både L1 og L2 i flere varieteter. Det fremgår dog ikke, om modellen dækker den blandede og blandende sprogbrug under "Contact varieties of L1" eller eventuelt under "Interlanguage varieties of L2". Det er vores pointe, at en del af den sprogbrug, de tosprogede børn oplever i deres omgangskreds, netop vil have karakter af ikke klart at kunne placeres enten som L1 eller L2. Her er vi altså på sprogbrugsniveau - opfattet som det input, opvoksende børn møder fra deres omgivelser.


PSYCHOLOGICAL COGNITIVE AND SOCIAL FACTORS IN BILINGUAL LANGUAGE
ACQUISITION OF MIGRANT CHILDREN
Caretaking Situation
Neighborhood
Language Policy
INPUT
Regional and Context Variation of L1
- adults
- children
Native Variation of L2
- adults
- children
Interlanguage Variation of L2
- parents
- siblings
- other migrants with the same L1
- other migrants with different L1
Media
Television
Video
Individual and Psychological Factors
- Age
- Personality
INTAKE
Sounds
Forms
Structures
Meanings
Functions
Pragmatic Context
LANGUAGE-SPECIFIC PROCESSING
Universals
Typological Properties
Parameter Setting
Operating Principles
Principles of Simplification
Acquired Knowledge of L1 and L2
Unanalysed Formulaic Utterances
Rules Learned from Instruction
Cognitive Problem Solving Strategies
Overgeneralization
COMPETENCE L1/L2
Discourse and Pragmatic Strategies
Motivation
SOCIAL FACTORS
Interlocutors' Pragmatic Strategies (e.g. scaffolding)
Judgements Corrections
Attitudes Peers and Adults
Topic Choice
OUTPUT L1/L2
PRODUCTION
oral
written
Standard
Nonstandard
COMPREHENSION
oral
written
Native
Non-native
Media
Media
School
Materials
Degree of Comprehension/Misunderstanding
Immigration Perspectives
Perspectives for Employment

Figur 5. Pfaffs model for tosproget kompetence (Pfaff 1993, 121)

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15. Gruppesamtaler

Eksempel 4 er et uddrag af en gruppesamtale fra pilotfasen af Køge-projektet. Det illustrerer, hvorledes brugen af de to sprog hos unge tosprogede ikke kan beskrives som dels brugen af ét sprog, dels brugen af et andet sprog. Skiftet fra det ene sprog til det andet er i sig selv en sproglig strategi med pragmatiske funktioner, og *kodeskift* er et integreret sprogligt træk i de unges sprogfærdighed.

I den første replik i eksempel 4 vakler Leyla mellem tyrkisk og dansk. Det sker ikke, fordi hun ikke kender et eller nogle af ordene på det ene sprog, for hun siger de samme ting på begge sprog. Hun slutter imidlertid på tyrkisk. Nevin tager derefter ordet og går meget hårdt imod hende. Dette markeres ikke kun ved det kraftige ordvalg, men også ved sprogskiftet (med Gumperz' (1982) begreber: fra vi-kode til de-kode). Hun fastholder ikke valget, men skifter tilbage. Nevin modsiger imidlertid Leyla så energisk, at denne vakler - selv om hun jo rent faktisk har ret. Forsigtigt ændrer hun så, stadig på tyrkisk, sit udsagn til, at hun mangler protein (!). Nevin mærker denne usikkerhed og forfølger straks sit held - hun borer på tyrkisk i bemærkningen om proteinet. Leyla er nu på flugt og forsøger en undvigemanøvre ved at sige det samme en gang til, men på dansk. Dette fører blot til, at Nevin slår til: *du ved jo ikke, hvad du snakker om*. Leyla fastholder på dette punkt dansk og skifter helt strategi: *du ved heller ikke noget*. Nevins accept af i næste replik at tale dansk er central, for herved er hun med til at afslutte den foregående del af skænderiet, en del som hun jo altså har vundet med sin replik.

Nu følger på dansk en udveksling af typen du-er-dum-det-kan-du-selv-være, indtil Nevin slår til igen med en bemærkning om, at hun måske ikke ved så meget, men så snakker hun heller ikke om det. Leyla undviger igen slaget ved at skifte sprog og strategi. Hun griber til det penultimative argument *læreren har selv sagt det.* Og denne gang skal Nevin ikke have noget af at acceptere sprogskiftet. Hun bliver ved på dansk (*ja-ja*), og så er Leyla klar over, at hun har fat i noget. Hun gentager derfor sin bemærkning næsten ordret, og Nevin reagerer stadig på dansk *vi skal altså ikke snakke, er det derfor du er kommet ud her?* Nu er det Leyla, der markerer en triumf ved at acceptere den andens sprogvalg. Men derved går Leyla i en fælde, der straks klapper med Nevins ord *det kan man godt mærke på dig.* Nevin har slået til for tredje gang, og Leyla skifter med det samme sprog igen. Hun siger, hun ikke gider snakke med Nevin, og nu kan Nevin - for første gang siden bemærkningen om, at Leyla ikke ved, hvad hun snakker om - gå med til at skifte til tyrkisk. Bemærk, at set udefra er det som tidligere Leyla og ikke Nevin, der har ret, men i samtalen er det Nevin, der får ret.

I dette ganske korte uddrag af et formentlig dagligdags skænderi mellem en gruppe af helt normale før-teenagepiger, hvoraf de to er aktive her, ser vi en varieret og sikker beherskelse af kodeskiftet som pragmatisk middel. Lag på lag af samtalen kan vi kun forstå, hvis vi forstår, at skiftet i sig selv har en betydning. Denne betydning er imidlertid ikke den samme hele tiden, selv om der i dette uddrag er mange eksempler på kodeskift som magtmiddel. En af de mest interessante iagttagelser, der kan gøres i sådanne ordvekslinger, er, at "de-kode" og "vi-kode" ikke er entydige begreber, der er knyttet til henholdsvis tyrkisk og dansk. Måske er det ligefrem kodeskiftmuligheden, altså det tosprogede, der er disse børns "vi-kode".

Eksempel 4: Uddrag af gruppesamtale mellem tre piger i femte klasse, alle tosprogede. Linjer, der begynder med ordet "dansk", giver oversættelser af elevernes foranstående ytringer, når disse indeholder tyrkisk. Dansk tale er gengivet i kursiv. Transskriptionen følger i øvrigt MacWhinney 1995.

Leyla: he Nevin konuşma istiyom eh *jeg havde ikke nogen det der* şeyim yoğdu *fan- ja fantasi ah energi* çok oynadım.
dansk: øh Nevin jeg vil altså også sige noget øh jeg havde ikke nogen det der jeg havde ikke den ting fan- ja fantasi energi. jeg dansede meget.

Nevin: *du har sgu da energi når du, du har sgu da energi når du øh Leyla det hedder alts- det hedder altså ikke energi* onun adı başka bir seydi *energi* yaşayanlara.
dansk: det hedder noget andet energi er om levende væsener.

Leyla: prateinim yok işte.
dansk: jeg har ikke noget protein.

Nevin: neyin yok.
dansk: hvad har du ikke noget af.

Leyla: *protein.*

Nevin: o ne la. bilmediği bir şey söyledi.
dansk: hvad er nu det hun ved ikke hvad hun snakker om.

Leyla: *åh du ved da heller ikke noget Nevin.*

Nevin: *du ved det heller ikke.*

Leyla: *du ved det heller ikke.*

Nevin: *nej jeg ved det ikke, jeg siger det ... du siger bare.*

Leyla: energi öğretmenim dedi ya energi bitiyor diye.
dansk: læreren har fortalt at energien slipper op.

Nevin: *ja-ja.*

Leyla: ögretmenim dedi ya çok hoplayınca energiniz bitiyor diye.
dansk: læreren sagde hvis man hopper meget slipper energien op.

Nevin: *jeg har forstået det vi skal altså ikke snakke er det derfor du er kommet ud her.*

Leyla: *ja.*

Nevin: *nå det kan man godt høre på dig.*

Leyla: eyi bir daha senle konuşuyom Nevin.
dansk: ej jeg taler ikke mere med dig Nevin.

Nevin: konuşma.
dansk: lad være at snakke.

Kodeskiftets pragmatiske muligheder tilegnes formentlig på forskellig måde og til forskellig tid af de tosprogede elever. I eksempel 5 ser vi endnu en gang, hvorledes den veltalende Esen reagerer sprogligt til egen fordel (jf også Maegaard & Quist 1999). Eksemplet indledes med et spørgsmål om opgaven, som eleverne er ved at løse, stillet på tyrkisk af Berna. Esen reagerer kritisk. Dels er hun i sit ordvalg stærkt afvisende over for Berna, dels skifter hun - som vi så det gjort i eksempel 4 - fra tyrkisk og den formodede "vi"-kode, til dansk og den formodede "de"-kode (Gumperz 1982). Resultatet er, at afvisningen virker voldsom. Berna reagerer med nonsensord, uden at tage til genmæle mod Esen. Erol på sin side reagerer umiddelbart med en støtte - på dansk - til Esen. Men Emel problematiserer Esens dominans, ikke ved direkte at udfordre hende, men ved at sætte spørgsmålstegn ved brugen af dansk. Erol er der igen med det samme med en støtte til sidste ærede taler, hvorimod Esens reaktion på denne udfordring er, at de slet ikke skal tale, men arbejde. Emel insisterer da på at tale tyrkisk, og nu reagerer Erol med vrøvleord, mens Esen redder ansigt for Emel og sig selv ved at være den første til at bruge tyrkisk - med en kompliment til Emel. Det intense magtspil mellem de to piger udfolder sig både i det direkte indhold og i den åbenlyse bevidsthed om sprogvalgets betydning. Berna og Erol følger efter bedste evne med i kodeskiftene, men med ringe selvstændig indflydelse på, hvad der tales. I enkelte tilfælde falder de tilbage til nonsensord. Magtspillet er altså i høj grad sprogligt, og de bedste kodeskiftere får ret.

Eksempel 5: Uddrag af gruppesamtale mellem tre piger og en dreng i fjerde klasse, alle tosprogede. De arbejder med en opgave, hvor de skal klippe og klistre. Linjer, der begynder med ordet "dansk", giver oversættelser af elevernes foranstå-ende ytringer, når disse indeholder tyrkisk. Dansk tale er gengivet i kursiv. Transskriptionen følger i øvrigt MacWhinney 1995.

Berna: siz yapacak mısınız.
dansk: skal I lave det der.

Esen: *så skrid hvis du ikke vil lave vi gider sgu ikke at have dig hvis du snakker.*

Berna: bæbæbæ.

Erol: *det er rigtigt nok.*

Emel: *skal vi snakke altid dansk hvad.*

Erol: *nej.*

Esen: *nej men vi skal heller ikke snakke vi skal bare lave.*

Emel: *jeg snakker altid tyrkisk så.*

Erol: kırt kırt kırt cart curt curt cart. [nonsens, tyrkiske lyde]

Esen: seni dinledim Emel ben kitap şeyde bantta.
dansk: jeg hørte dig, Emel, bogen, altså, på båndet.

Magtspillet mellem eleverne kan også udfolde sig tosproget *uden at* kodeskiftet i sig selv har pragmatisk funktion. Det fremgår af eksempel 6, hvor det igen er Esen, der regerer. Samtalen drejer sig om en opgave, hvor eleverne skal klippe og klistre. Esen styrer de andre børn, idet hun så at sige fører to samtaler på en gang. Den ene samtale fører hun med Sven og Nina. Den begynder i linje 1-4 og fortsætter i linje 9-12, hvorfra den springer til linje 16 og linje 18, linje 21 og linje 24. Den anden samtale foregår mellem Erol og Esen. Den begynder i linje 5-8, hvorfra den springer til linje 13-15 og videre til linje 17 og 19-20 og 22-23. I den første samtale ser vi, hvorledes de andre børn, i hvert fald Sven, taler op til Esen og søger hendes anerkendelse (linje 1 og 9). På samme måde appellerer Erol til Esen, idet han opfordrer til, at de skal arbejde sammen og konkurrere med de danske børn (linje 7). Esen bruger flere replikker på at tilrettevise Erol (linje 14 og 19) på tyrkisk, hvorved hun holder ham fast i én samtale, samtidig med at hun fører samtalen med de øvrige videre. Også her giver hun anvisninger (linje 24). Esen bruger altså to sprog, hun fører to samtaler på en gang, og hun styrer begge samtaler.

Eksempel 6: Uddrag af gruppesamtale mellem fire børn i anden klasse. Esen og Erol er tosprogede dansk-tyrkiske, mens Sven og Nina er etsproget danske. Linjer, der begynder med ordet "dansk", giver oversættelser af elevernes foregående ytringer, når disse indeholder tyrkisk. Dansk tale er gengivet i kursiv. Transskriptionen følger i øvrigt MacWhinney 1995. Hatice er en af børnenes klassekammerater, som har lav prestige. Daniel er et navn, eleverne bruger om en af personerne i opgaven.

Sven: *Esen skal vi ikke have sådan en lille hund med på ferie.*

Esen: *åh.*

Nina: *så klip [//] så klip den ud.*

Sven: *hej søde lille hund.*

Erol: *hvad skal jeg så [//] si [//] skal også bruge saks.*

Esen: *jamen han må jo gerne få det.*

Erol: <xxx daha kesmiyor. gel bunları gecelim [//] bunları gecelim.>[>]
dansk: xxx den kan ikke klippe mere kom vi overhaler dem [//] vi overhaler dem

Sven: *<skal jeg klippe det her ud [//] skal jeg klippe det ud Esen.>[<]*

Esen: *hvis den altså må komme over og se den.*

Sven: *jeg tror jeg godt du må # søde lille hund.*

Nina: *åh hvor den søde hund <skal han [//] skal han +..>[>]*

Erol: *<jeg fundet den xxx.>[<]*

Esen: <beklicen bizi Erol.>[<]
dansk: du skal vente på os Erol

Sven: *<puddelhunden må gerne komme med over.>[<]*

Erol: *saks.*

Nina: *han skal også have skjorter med.*

Esen: bekle sen de Hatice gibi olma.
dansk: vent du skal ikke være som Hatice

Sven: *han skal også have skjorter med <og Daniel skal også +...>[>]*

Erol: <Hatice gibi değilim.>[<]
dansk: jeg er ikke ligesom Hatice

Esen: *I skal klippe deres øh hoved af fordi de skal jo ikke +...*

Tosprogetheden og kodeskiftet bliver også benyttet, når eleverne diskuterer sproglige forhold. I eksempel 7 ser vi et smukt eksempel på, at tyrkisk benyttes til at støtte dansktilegnelsen, omend måske tilfældigvis med et uhensigtsmæssigt resultat, men det er lige meget for pointen: det ene sprog bruges som middel til at tilegne sig det andet. Diskussionen i eksemplet drejer sig om andetsproget dansk, og den udspiller sig på elevernes modersmål. Udgangspunktet er Orhans bemærkning om, at Mesut lyver - Orhan siger "han løgner". Mesut reagerer ved i et nedsættende tonefald at efterabe formen "løgner". Murats følgende bemærkning gentager ordet to gange, og Orhan reagerer med en oversættelse, "yalan", og senere forklarer han, at man både kan sige "lyver" og "løgner". Udvekslingen af synspunkter - om man vil: viden - om målsproget ville være umulig uden bevidstheden om formen. Det er formen "løgner" som verbalform (og den er jo ikke en verbalform i indfødt dansk), der er stridspunktet. Diskussionen drejer sig i øvrigt også om normen, dvs. normen om "korrekt" dansk, som børnene altså er bevidste om. Endelig er det en pointe, at diskussionen forløber med stor udtryksfærdighed på de berørte sprog, som eleverne benytter uden tøven eller vaklen, og uden vaklen i skiftene heller.

Eksempel 7: Uddrag af gruppesamtale mellem fire tosprogede drenge i tredje klasse. Dansk tale er gengivet i kursiv. Transskriptionen følger i øvrigt MacWhinney 1995

Orhan: gemi kesilir mi, manyak.

Mesut: *Normann, kom lige.*

Orhan: *du skal ikke komme, Normann, han løgner.*

Mesut: *ha, "løgner".*

Murat: *"løgner, løgner".*

Orhan: *ad, løgner [yalan-].*

Mesut: bunu kim istiyorsa alsın.

Murat: *"lyver, lyver".*

Orhan: *"lyver",* "løgner" *da denilir,* "lyver" *da denilir.*

Murat: "lyver" *da denilir,* "løgner" *da den-*

Mesut: oh gidiyor.

16. Udviklingsaspekter

I beskrivelsen af børnenes sproglige kompetence indgår en række faktorer, herunder "Language-specific processing", som ikke er delt op i L1-processer og L2-processer. Her forstår vi kompetencen på samme måde som Pfaff, nemlig som et integreret sæt af potentialer (færdigheder og lagre) og processer (handlinger og valg), der i nogle tilfælde kan tilskrives ét bestemt sprog, i andre ikke. Pfaffs model inddrager ikke forandringer og udvikling af sprogene over tid. Vi kan imidlertid forlænge den tankegang, at to sprog, der hver for sig findes hos nogle sprogbrugere uden tilstedeværelse af det andet, er integreret hos den tosprogede. Over tid kan denne integration føre til integration af sprogene, også som nye varieteter.

Således har nogle af vore nordiske kolleger funderet over, om der er nye varieteter på vej af de nordiske sprog, affødt af at de i stigende grad tales som andetsprog i vore lande. Kotsinas (1988) spekulerer over, om indvandrersvensk er en kreolervarietet under udvikling, eller om Rinkeby-svensk er en ny svensk dialekt. Hun har i øvrigt introduceret det synspunkt, at foreningen af kreativitet i ungdomssprog med dynamik i sprogkontakt er en fortrinlig basis for at iagttage nye varieteters opståen. Lainio (1997) har spekuleret lidt videre på denne tanke og kommer til, at slangbrugen blandt finsktalende unge i Sverrig måske kan styrke en teori om, at der er en særlig varietet af finsk under udvikling.

Der kan altså være gode sociolingvistiske grunde til at betragte tosprogethed som et integreret fænomen, i hvert fald de facto hos nogle tosprogede sprogbrugere.

17. Socialpsykologiske aspekter

Socialpsykologisk spiller en skelnen mellem adskilt dansk og tyrkisk på den ene side og blandet dansk og tyrkisk på den anden side, en rolle i de unges identitetsmarkering, som beskrevet af Møller (1998). Selve den samtidige benyttelse af træk fra både tyrkisk og dansk i samme sproglige produktion kan fungere som de unges vi-kode, som signal om deres aldersmæssige tilhørsforhold. Deres aldersmæssige tilhørsforhold markerer de ved at lægge grænser til de ældre generationer, det være sig deres etsproget danske lærere eller deres tyrkisktalende forældre.

Spørgsmålet bringer os ind på normerne for brugen af de to sprog hos tosprogede børn og unge. Vi kan se af mange udsagn fra vores interviews med forældre og lærere, at de stort set møder én bestemt norm for deres sproglige adfærd, nemlig den dobbelte etsprogethedsnorm. Selv lærere, der er meget imødekommende over for elevernes modersmål, og som lægger stor vægt på at kunne henvende sig skriftligt til forældrene på deres modersmål, kan fx ytre sig om matematikundervisningen: "I disse timer er eleverne gode til ikke at bruge tyrkisk". Lærerne underforstår simpelthen, at tyrkisk skal have plads i modersmålsunder-visningen og visse andre, fastlagte steder i børnenes hverdag.

Her er tyrkisk fuldt berettiget og værdifuldt. Men i matematiktimerne (for nu at tage det som eksempel) skal der kun bruges dansk. Sprogene hører hjemme hver for sig. Vi har også udsagn fra forældre, der ikke vil undervise deres egne børn i modersmålet, fordi de om sig selv synes, at de blander sprogene for meget (se Holmen & Jørgensen 1994). Sprogblandingerne er stigmatiseret af den dobbelte etsprogethedsnorm:

> personer, der behersker to sprog, bruger til enhver tid ét og kun ét sprog, og de benytter hvert af deres sprog på en måde, der principielt ikke afviger fra etsprogedes brug af sproget

Vi har derimod kunnet iagttage, hvordan de unge i deres indbyrdes gruppesamtaler følger en anden norm for tosproget adfærd. De blander sprogene, de kodeskifter mellem ytringer, inde i ytringer, ja sågar inde i det enkelte ord. I deres adfærd følger de unge mennesker, når de ikke er overvåget af voksne, den integrerede tosprogethedsnorm:

> personer, der behersker to sprog, benytter i deres sprogbrug hele deres sproglige kompetence, tilpasset den pågældende sprogbrugs formål og den pågældende situations muligheder, herunder samtalepartnernes sproglige kompetence

Maegaards (1998) data viser (se også Jørgensen 1993 og 1998), at der bag sprogvalget ligger mere komplicerede mekanismer end den dobbelte etsprogethedsnorm. Der må være andre faktorer på spil end de udtalte, ydre påvirkninger. Kodeskiftene såvel som de hyppige lån er ikke tilfældige, og de er ikke bare udtryk for huller i de unges viden i det ene eller det andet sprog. Om de så var, ville det ikke ændre dette punkt, for da måtte vi alligevel regne med en sprogbrugsfrembringelsesproces med en integrerende komponent, der gjorde det muligt for de tosprogede at hente træk frem, der tilhører etsprogede dansktalendes sprog såvel som etsprogede tyrkisktalendes sprog. Men kodevalgene er i væsentligt omfang bestemt af kommunikative hensyn, og i den forbindelse forholder de sig til den sociolingvistiske virkelighed, de tyrkisk-danske unge lever i og har lært sprog i.

Det, der repræsenterer dansk, har en anden socialpsykologisk status for de tosprogede sprogbrugere, end det, der repræsenterer tyrkisk. De vurderinger, de unge tosprogede sprogbrugere tilskriver hvert af de to separate sprog, gør det muligt for dem at benytte koderne - og kodeskiftene - som midler til at få deres vilje med. Møller har påpeget (1998), at den intense kodevekslen kan være både et sprogligt magtredskab og et udtryk for en fælles sproglig norm, som netop er integreret.

Pigen Esen er kodeskifteren og ad-hoc-låneren par excellence. Også drengen Bekir er en flittig kodeskifter. (I 7. klasses gruppesamtaler, for eksempel, har de begge, som de eneste, over 10 % intrasententielle kodeskift i deres ytringer). Begge viser sig i Quists data (Quist 1998) at tilhøre de tidlige andetsprogstilegnere, og begge bliver af danske modersmålsbrugere vurderet højt i hendes undersøgelse af de tosprogede unges flyd på dansk. Både Esen og Bekir scorer i det hele taget højt i stort set alle de mål for sprogfærdighed, som vi har forsøgt os med på dette materiale. Det gælder både dansk og tyrkisk, se ovenfor og Byrjalsen m.fl. (1999). Vi har altså at gøre med veltalende sprogbrugere, også når sammenligningsgrundlaget er etsprogede danske jævnaldrende. Vi kan med andre ord ikke hævde, at deres talesproglige kompetence er "mangelfuld" på dansk.

Iagttager vi dem i Køge-projektets tovejssamtaler mellem de unge og indfødte voksne dansktalende, vil de heller ikke bruge tyrkiske elementer i deres talesprog, i hvert fald ikke uden tydelige markeringer og tilhørende forklaringer.

Og omvendt over for tyrkiske voksne. For så vidt er disse unge tosprogede i stand til at overholde den dobbelte etsprogethedsnorm. Men i gruppesamtalerne ser vi dem rask væk overtræde den. Vi kan konstatere, at de i ordforrådet - i hvert fald på overfladeniveau - overtræder den dobbelte etsprogethedsnorm hele tiden (jf. Maegaards data).

Eksempel 8: Uddrag fra en gruppesamtale mellem fire tosprogede drenge i sjette klasse. De arbejder med LEGO-klodser. Linjer, der begynder med ordet "dansk", indeholder oversættelser af elevernes foranstående ytringer, når disse indeholder tyrkisk. Dansk tale er gengivet i kursiv. Transskriptionen følger i øvrigt MacWhinney 1995.

ADNAN: *han skal have t-shirt på.*

MURAT: ne nasıl düz mü olsun.
dansk: hvordan skal den blive lige.

EROL: *hvad for noget?*

MURAT: şöyle iki ikiser tane burda.
dansk: sådan her, to, dobbelt her.

EROL: bu tarafa doğru gitsin xxx.
dansk: den skal gå lige til den her side xxx [uforståeligt].

MURAT: cık yok.
dansk: nej nej.

ÜMIT: hey ayak öyle olmasın şöyle şöyle.
dansk: hej, benet skal ikke være sådan der, sådan her, sådan her.

MURAT: o küçük olur ya.
dansk: men den bliver for lille.

ÜMIT: boşver işte küçük.
dansk: det er lige meget om den er lille.

MURAT: dur bir dur dur.
dansk: vent lidt, vent vent.

ADNAN: *nej* küçük olmayacak ayaklar büyük olacak.
dansk: nej, de skal ikke være små, benene skal være store.

MURAT: aha bak bu ayakkabısı şimdi şurdan da şey gider.
dansk: her se, det her er skoen, og nu går der noget herfra.

ÜMIT: he.
dansk: ja.

ADNAN: *den skal mindst være så stor*

EROL: *nå jo mand.*

MURAT: anladın mı
dansk: forstod du det

EROL: *ja.*

MURAT: bu bir ayagı xxx.
dansk: dette er et af dens ben xxx. [uforståeligt]

EROL: *nå der.*

MURAT: öteki ayaıgını da yapıyor.
dansk: og han laver dens andet ben.

EROL: *jeg troede den skulle være sådan her.*

ADNAN: nå ja hele sükür anladı.
dansk: nå ja, endelig forstod han.

EROL: xxx ben siyahları buluyorum.
dansk: xxx [uforståeligt] jeg finder de sorte.

MURAT: tamam, sen ne yapacaktın?
dansk: ja, hvad ville du lave?

ÜMIT: ayak.
dansk: ben.

EROL: hepimiz ayak yapıyoruz şimdi, *krop* güzel olsun.
dansk: vi laver allesammen ben nu, kroppen skal være pæn.

ADNAN: *krop* zor olur.
dansk: kroppen bliver svær.

EROL: boşver *det er lige meget* güzel olsun yeter.
dansk: det er lige meget, det er lige meget, den er pæn nok.

ADNAN: güzel de olmaz, *det bliver svær krop* xxx *kroppen.*
dansk: men den bliver ikke pæn, det bliver en svær krop xxx [uforståeligt] kroppen.

ÜMIT: kaç?
dansk: hvor mange?

MURAT: dur o kadar çok değil şey de olacak.
dansk: stop, ikke så mange, der skal være øh.
ADNAN: *det skal ikke være tyndt, Murat, kroppen Murat, det skal ikke være tyndt det skal også være tykt.*

MURAT: *ja ja.*

ADNAN: *jeg skal bruge de der ellers kan jeg jo ikke se ellers jeg kan ikke blive ved.*

EROL: aman ya biraz daha uzasın ya.
dansk: jamen den skal være lidt længere

ADNAN: *ellers kan jeg ikke blive ved.*

MURAT: yo burada pantolon mu birşey olacak böyle dışarlara giden.
dansk: nej der skal være bukser eller sådan noget der går udenfor.

Eksempel 8 illustrerer, hvordan disse tosprogede sprogbrugere varierer deres anvendelse af deres sprog. Kodeskiftene har forskellige funktioner. Det meste af samtalen drejer sig om opgaven (se redegørelse herfor i Jørgensen 1998), men samtidig foregår en strid om kontrollen over samtalen.

Den første ytring i uddraget er på dansk, men Murat skifter til tyrkisk. Dette kodeskift undrer Erol, som spørger "hvad for noget?". Nu viser det sig på Murats svar, at han mente noget andet end den t-shirt, Adnan har været ved at tale om. Derefter fortsætter Erol, og efter ham også Murat og Ümit samtalen om Murats tema på tyrkisk. Adnan blander sig med en bemærkning, der indeholder et enkelt "nej", ellers er det hele tyrkisk. Adnans bemærkning afføder ingen reaktion fra de andre, så han gentager sit bidrag, nu på dansk. Dette påkalder sig Erols opmærksomhed, og han ser, at Adnan har en pointe: "nå jo mand", siger han. Murat spørger drillende Erol på tyrkisk, om han nu også virkelig har forstået, og Erol fastholder på dansk, at det har han. Murat fortsætter alligevel med at forklare, stadig på tyrkisk, og nu indser Erol, at han alligevel ikke helt havde forstået, hvad han bemærker på dansk. Adnan kommenterer det drillende på tyrkisk. I hele denne passage er Erol under pres fra de andre, især Murat, som taler tyrkisk. Erol tager afstand fra presset, men fastholder alligevel emnet, de taler om, ved at tale dansk.

Ved afslutningen af denne passage skifter Erol til tyrkisk og introducerer et nyt emne. Murat markerer sin accept og fortsætter i tyrkisk med at udvikle temaet. Alle fire diskuterer nu opgaven (en LEGO-konstruktion). De bruger det danske ord "krop" som låneord, men taler ellers tyrkisk, indtil Erol understreger sit synspunkt ved at gentage sin tyrkiske bemærkning på dansk ("det er lige meget"). Adnan går imod dette på tilsvarende måde, først med en tyrkisk ytring, dernæst en dansk gentagelse. I resten af uddraget holder Erol og Murat sammen på tyrkisk mod Adnan, som taler dansk.

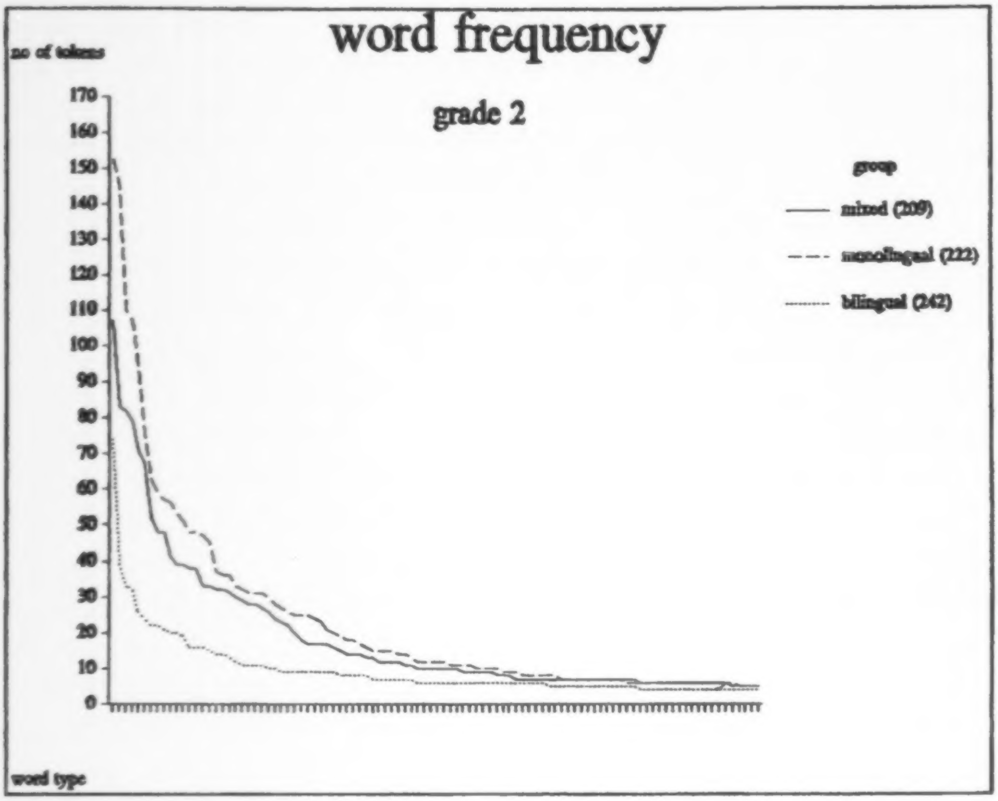
Vi ser både lån og kodeskift hos disse drenge. Dansk er skolens sprog, som man kan skifte til for at gøre sine krav stærkere. Dansk benyttes til at understrege en pointe, der allerede er hævdet. Dansk fungerer som magtsprog, og kodeskift til dansk styrker altså den talendes magtposition, mens skift til tyrkisk tilsvarende har en solidaritetsfunktion. Men kodeskiftet er også i sig selv et pragmatisk middel, uanset retningen, fx til at fastholde en modsætning til en anden samtalepartner. Adnan fortsætter på dansk, selv om Erol og Murat taler tyrkisk med hinanden og til ham om emnet. Det er ikke, fordi fx Erol ikke kan dansk, for tidligere i samtalen var det lige netop ham, der fastholdt dansk. Det er brugen af det modsatte sprog af samtalepartneren, der i sig selv er et led i det pragmatiske spil.

Anvendelsen af de to sprog overskrider altså langt simple, praktiske hensyn, og beskrivelsen af kodevalget kan ikke nøjes med et beskrive ytringer på ét sprog og ytringer på et andet sprog. De blandede ytringer må også beskrives, netop med karakteren af blanding. Dette bringer os videre til spørgsmålet, om de tosprogede elevers sprogbrug på dansk er dansk på samme måde som deres etsprogede klassekammeraters. Figur 6 viser en frekvensfordeling af ord brugt af eleverne i gruppesamtaler i 2. klasse, henholdsvis af tosprogede børn på tyrkisk, af tosprogede børn på dansk, og af etsprogede børn på dansk. Ord, der kan tilhøre begge sprog, er ikke medregnet.

Vi ser af figur 6, at den typologiske forskel mellem sprogene slår igennem, ved at de hyppigste ord i de danske samtaler generelt optræder hyppigere end de hyppigste ord i de tyrkiske samtaler. Dette skyldes ikke alene, at danskere simpelthen bruger flere ord, for som det også fremgår, ligger grafen for de tosprogede børns danske ordforråd mellem de to andre grafer, og de tosprogede børns graf for dansk repræsenterer ord med lavere hyppighed end etsprogedes dansk. Det er ikke overraskende, at tyrkisk repræsenteres på figuren, som det er tilfældet, for tyrkisk er et agglutinerende sprog med mange endelser og få funktionsord. Som helhed illustrerer figuren altså en typologisk forskel.

Mere iøjnefaldende er det, at de tosprogede elevers dansk ligger et sted mellem det tyrkiske og de etsprogedes danske. Hvis grafen først og fremmest illustrerer et sprogtypologisk fænomen, kan de tosprogedes danske graf måske også forklares herudfra. Dette illustreres yderligere af figur 7, som viser type:token-ratioerne for de samme grupper. Vi ser af figuren, at type:token-ratioen er højest for de tyrkisktalende børns indbyrdes samtaler og mindst for etsprogede danske børn. Denne forskel hænger formentlig også sammen med, at de to sprog er typologisk forskellige. De tosprogede elevers dansksprogede bidrag til de blandede gruppesamtaler ligger imidlertid igen mellem det etsproget danske og det tyrkiske.

Det viser os, at når de tosprogede børn taler dansk, sker det tilsyneladende ikke uden afvigelse fra de etsprogedes måde at tale på. Man kan formode, at det tyrkiske sprogs typologiske struktur påvirker de tosprogede børns brug af dansk. Når de etsprogede danske børns ratio-tal ligger så lavt, er det ikke sikkert, at det hænger sammen med, at de etsprogede har et større brugsordforråd på dansk i disse samtaler end de tosprogede børn. Snarere kan det hænge sammen med de mange funktionsord i dansk, fx præpositionerne. Hvis der er en påvirkning fra det tyrkiske sprog på de tosprogede børns brug af dansk, kan det ligge her: eleverne benytter måske færre selvstændige funktionsord på dansk end etsprogede danske børn, eller de bruger dem sjældnere, således at disse hyppige ord optræder færre gange. Derved stiger deres type:token-ratio.

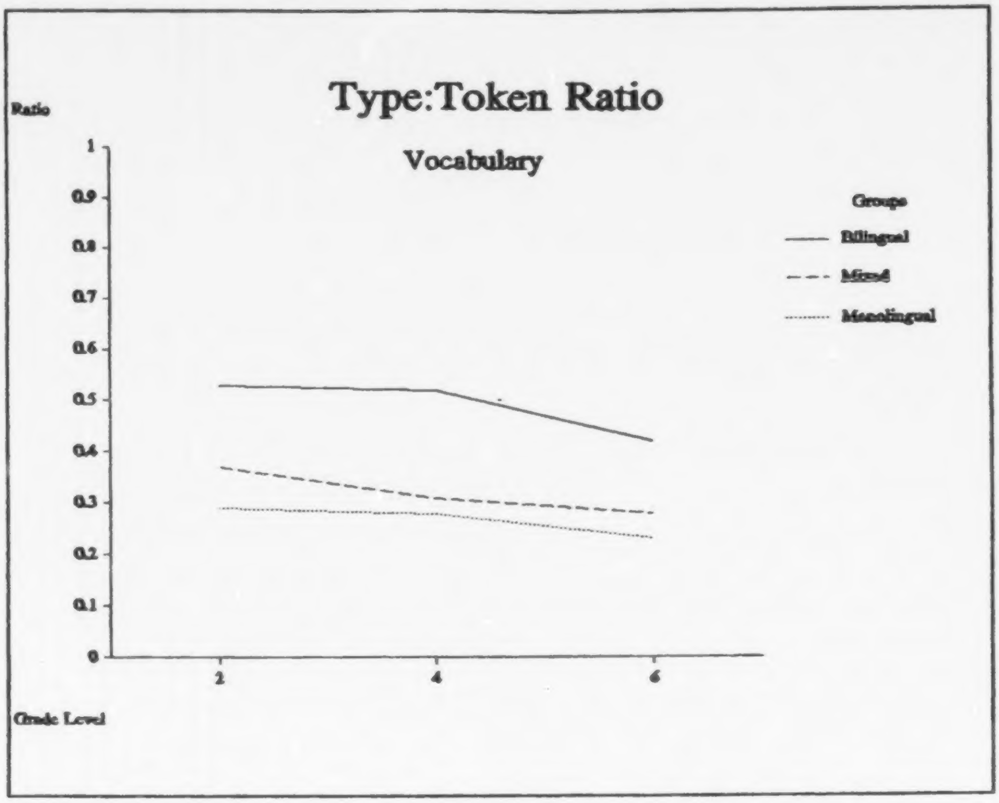


Figur 6. Ordforrådet i gruppesamtaler mellem børn i 2.klasse opstillet efter faldende frekvens. "Mixed": blandede samtaler; "monolingual": dansktalende børn; "bilingual": tyrkisk-danske tosprogede børn

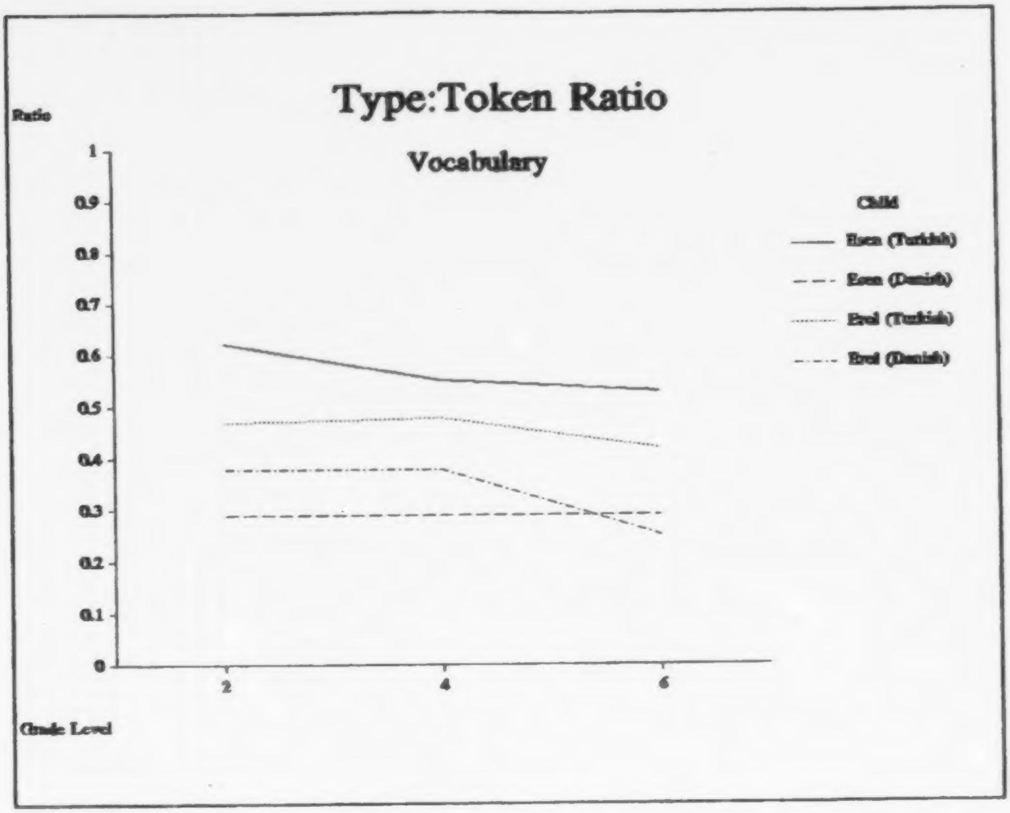
Til belysning af dette spørgsmål kan vi se nærmere på to af de tosprogede børn, pigen Esen, som scorer højt i alle mål for sproglig kompetence (se Møller m.fl. 1998), og drengen Erol, som scorer under middel (se også Laursen 1992, Gimbel 1994 og Jørgensen & Holmen 1995). Figur 8 viser de to elevers type:token-ratioer i gruppesamtalerne på de tre klassetrin. Det fremgår, at Esen har større forskel på sit tyrkisk og sit dansk, end Erol har. Esens danske type:token-ratio ligger lavest af alle fire repræsenterede ratioer (omend Erol i 6.klasse kommer på samme niveau), og hendes tyrkiske ligger højest. En videre undersøgelse må afgøre, om der er sammenhæng mellem elevernes kompetence generelt, fx som de vurderes af deres lærere, eller som de scorer i tests, og deres fordeling af type:token-ratioer. Disse to børns tal kunne tyde på, at den sprogligt kompetente elev kan bruge de to sprog mere "native-like" hver for sig end den mindre kompetente.

Bemærk, at dette ikke betyder, at Esen holder sprogene adskilt efter den dobbelte etsprogethedsnorm. I virkeligheden er hun en af de mere flittige kodeblandere og kodeskiftere blandt de tosprogede børn (se Jørgensen 1993). Det betyder blot, at hun - når hun taler dansk - taler mere som de etsprogede, og at hun taler et tyrkisk, der mere udpræget viser et karakteristisk træk. Formentlig er dette netop en af grundene til, at hun har overblik til at blande sprogene med selvtillid.

Hvorvidt de tosprogede børns danske sprogbrugs placering mellem deres tyrkisk og etsproget dansk skyldes underrepræsentation af meget hyppige ord, fremgår af tabel 7. Denne tabel er beregnet på følgende måde. De 75 % af det samlede antal løbende ord hos en sprogbruger er beregnet. Et grænseord udgøres af det ord på frekvenslisten, som bringer det kumulerede antal ord, når der regnes fra de hyppigste ord og nedefter, op over 75 % af det samlede antal løbende ord. Herefter er alle de ord på listen, som ligger over grænseordet, sammenlignet med Ruus & Maegaards hyppighedsliste (1981) over ord i danske børnebøger. De ord, som er blandt de 100 hyppigste på denne liste, er taget fra. De resterende ords forekomsttal i samtalerne er beregnet, og den procentdel, som ordene udgør af de 75 % af ordstoffet, er beregnet. Et højt procenttal ved denne beregningsmetode er altså udtryk for, at man har forholdsvis få af de hyppigste funktionsord. Et lavt tal er tilsvarende udtryk for, at man bruger funktionsordene meget.



Figur 7. Type:token ratio for ordforrådet i gruppesamtaler mellem børn i henholdvis 2. klasse, 4. klasse og 6. klasse. "Bilingual": tyrkisk-danske børn; "mixed": blandede grupper; "monolingual": etsprogede dansktalende børn.



Figur 8. Type:token ratio for to elevers ordforråd i 2.klasse, 4. klasse og 6.klasse i to typer af samtaler. "Bilingual": med andre tosprogede børn; "mixed": i blandede grupper af etsprogede dansktalende og tosprogede tyrkisk-danske børn.

	2.klasse	4.klasse	6.klasse
Esen	13,1	15,4	17,2
Erol	19,8	15,9	16,7
Da. børn	12,5	11,0	10,0

Tabel 7. Den andel af de danske topfrekvente ord i gruppesamtaler, som ikke udgøres af de 100 almindeligste danske børnebogsord, hos to tosprogede elever og hos et gennemsnit af danske elever.

Tabel 7 viser, at de tosprogede børn netop har høje procenttal i forhold til deres etsprogede dansktalende klassekammerater. Dette bestyrker hypotesen om, at den typologiske forskel mellem dansk og tyrkisk ligger bag type:token-ratio-forskellene, og at vi altså kan spore antydningen af en overførselseffekt på typologisk niveau i børnenes ordforråd i talesproget.

De sprogtypologiske forskelle mellem dansk og tyrkisk slår igennem i type:token-ratioen i talesproget hos skoleelever, der taler henholdsvis tyrkisk modersmål og dansk modersmål, og de slår igennem i frekvensprofilerne i de tosprogede børns mundtlige sprogbrug. Desuden er de tosprogede elever påvirket af de tyrkiske forhold, når de taler dansk. Dette viser sig blandt andet, ved at deres danske type:token-ratio ligger mellem modersmålsdansk og modersmålstyrkisk. Det viser sig også, ved at de tosprogede elever, i forhold til etsproget danske elever, har færre hyppige funktionsord i deres dansk. Det er en pointe, at disse forskelle også forekommer hos den tyrkisk-dansk tosprogede elev, der af indfødte danskere vurderes som indfødt dansktalende, og hvis danske talesprog vurderes højere end indfødte klassekammeraters (Quist 1998)..

Denne påvirkning fra tyrkisk til dansk er i hvert fald ikke accent i den forstand, at den gør Esens danske talesprog afvigende fra indfødtes. De indfødte kan nemlig ikke høre, at hun ikke har dansk som modersmål. Det er heller ikke accent i den forstand, at det er et ufærdigt dansk eller indlærerdansk, med hvad det måtte indebære af negative konnotationer, for hun er jo netop særdeles veltalende (jf. tabel 4). Nej, der er tale om *et ganske særlig avanceret dansk*, den integreret tosprogede begavelses samlede sproglige kompetence overført på det nationale sprog i en kold og mørk og våd afkrog af det nordlige Europa.

18. Tosproget kompetence

Den tosprogede kompetence hos den elev, der scorer højt i alle mål for sproglig kompetence, kan ikke beskrives som summen af kompetence på et sprog og kompetence på et andet sprog. Hendes sproglige praksis modsiger det på alt for mange punkter. Ikke alene kodeskifter hun virtuost, men selv når hendes produktion for en overfladisk betragtning er etsproget, skal den alligevel forstås som et resultat af hendes beherskelse af mere end det ene sprog. Det er ikke ensbetydende med, at hun ikke kan skelne - tværtimod, men det vel ingen heller hævde. Det er imidlertid heller ikke ensbetydende med, at der ikke foregår delvis uafhængige sprogfrembringelsesprocesser, sådan at de forløber ad visse veje, når de er på det ene sprog, og ad andre veje, når de er på det andet - men det er nødvendigt, at de også kan forløbe på kryds og tværs, således at der ikke er tale om to helt adskilte vejsystemer, men om systemer, som sprogfrembringelsen kan bevæge sig imellem, også mens de er i gang.

Lige så vigtigt er det formentlig at understrege, at tilegnelsen af sprogene må indgå i forståelsen af tosprogetheden. Det tyrkiske islæt i danskproduktionen hos den avancerede tosprogede elev ligger så dybt, at det må være kommet ind på et forholdsvis tidligt tidspunkt, uden at det har hæmmet dansktilegnelsen eller i øvrigt givet anledning til accent. Vores data peger meget kraftigt på, at tosprogetheden må forstås som integreret kompetence, og at tilegnelsen må inddrages i forståelsen, men også at der indgår færdighed i at skelne. Desuden peger vores data på, at den tosprogede produktion kun kan forstås i en integreret opfattelse af tosproget sprogfrembringelse.

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